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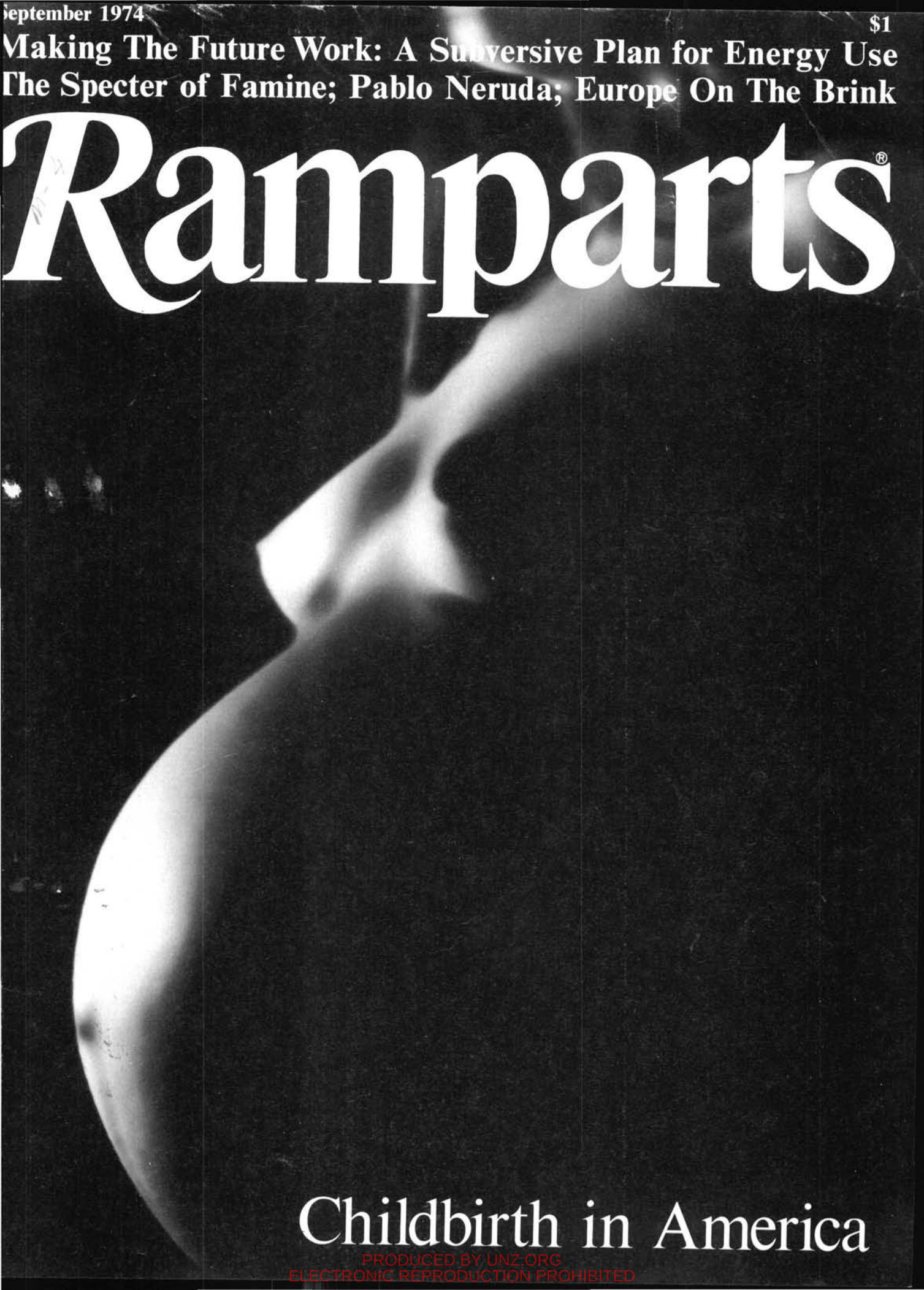

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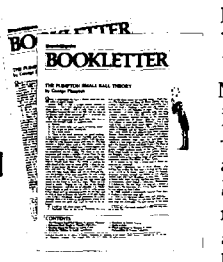

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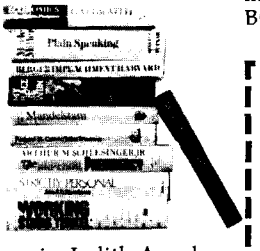

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Ramparts

Volume 13, No. 2 September 1974

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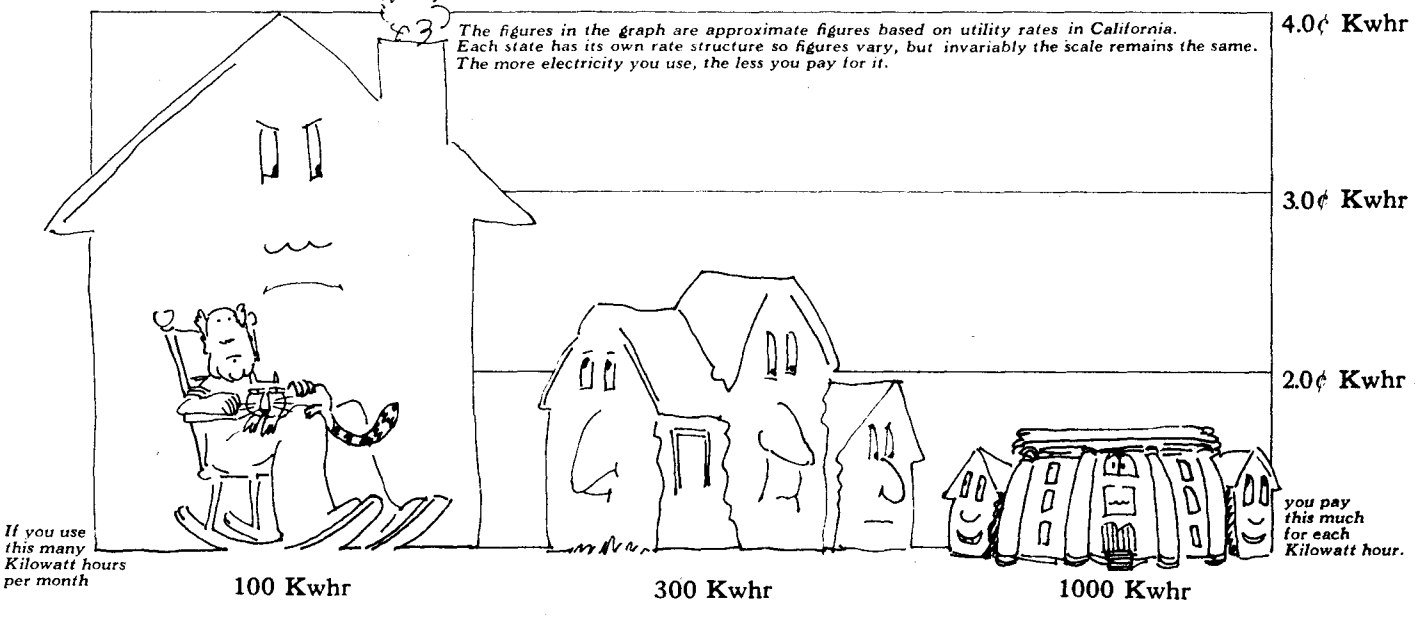
ELECTRICITY. THE BARGAIN YOU CAN'T AFFORD.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Letters

[MOBILE HOMES]

Editors:

Eugene Meyer's thoughtful report on mobile homes (August, 1974) was a little short on analysis. Mobile homes are obviously a clumsy way of getting around oppressive building codes, which protect construction industry privileges by banning any money-saving techniques. Federal housing programs are likewise designed to aid the housing, real estate and banking industries, which is why the poor aren't eligible for subsidized loans (though they pay taxes for my subsidy) and why the programs cover only new housing.

I have known several young or retired couples who could afford a house, but chose a mobile home because they preferred to spend their money in other ways. In the picture on page 36, for example, all three cars are both enormous and new. In late 1971, I sold my home (with 5.5% mortgage) for $23,500, but my two cars were vintage '56 and '67. Different strokes for different folks. Whatever the reason, it is quite possible to provide housing and mortgages at much lower prices. It just isn't legal to do so. If we extend housing-type regulation to mobile homes, one can confidently predict that mobile homes too will soon be priced out of anyone's reach.

Alan Reynolds
New York, N.Y.

[LEGACY OF STALIN]

Editors:

I'm puzzled by Mary Walter's letter in your August issue. She lists as a prime "legacy of Stalinism which continues to have a disastrous effect" the "attempt to build socialism in one country." If she means what she seems to be saying, she would like the *Russians* to build socialism in England, Tanzania, Italy and Brazil.

The game plan has a few small drawbacks, such as the nuclear war that would have to precede any such triumphal march. But it has its advantages, if you're willing to take a broad view. Not having to organize your own revolution leaves you with unlimited leisure to criticize how other people have organized theirs.

C. Dietrich
East Durdee, Ill.

[SLA]

Editors:

As a *Ramparts* subscriber and a reader of the magazine since 1967, I would like to express my complete support for your editorial stand on the Symbionese Liberation Army. I had thought that the sort of pseudo-revolutionary gut-checking that Stew Albert, etc. have been offering in your letters column in the last two issues had been abandoned once and for all by serious movement people. I'm sorry to see that I was wrong.

Maurice Isserman
Portland, Oregon

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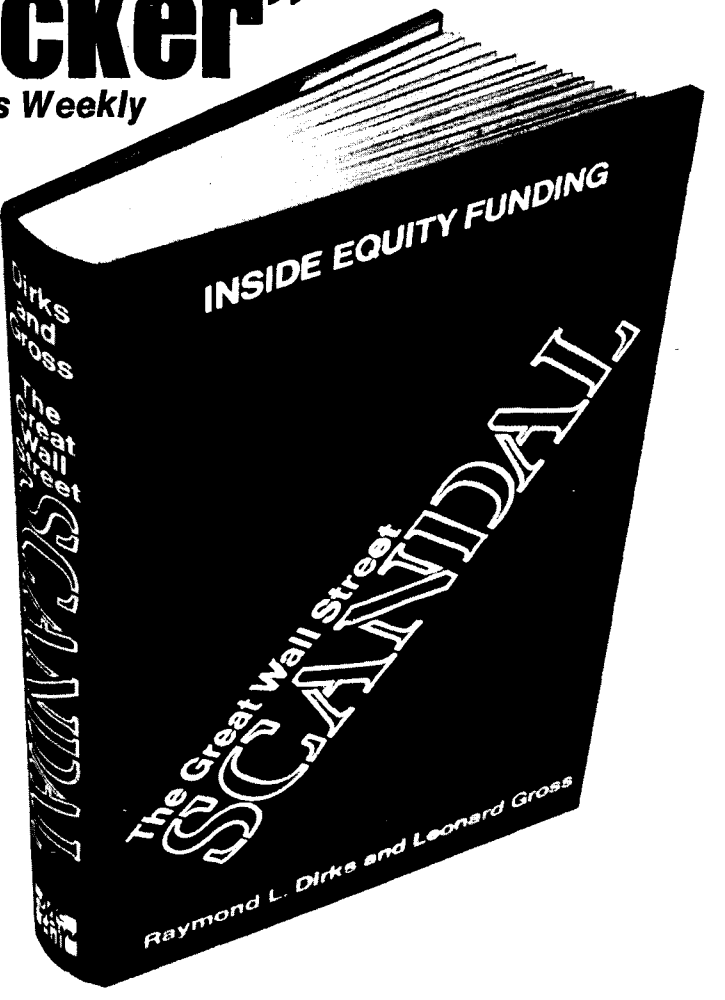
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[Perspective]

Fascism and Other Nightmares

"Speculation about conspiracy in high places is now as common as complaints about the weather, while the specter of fascism haunts the whole spectrum of liberal-left attitudes. Yet it looks distinctly possible that Nixon will not even survive in office, let alone suspend the electoral process and establish his permanent reign."

The link between theory and action is one that every revolutionary is bound to respect. In the recent swift destruction and subsequent oblivion of the "Symbionese Liberation Army" one can measure the price that may be paid for confusing rhetoric with political reality. Acting on a vision of the political situation so extreme as to be unreal, the SLA called forth sympathy but no organized support, and in its martyrdom inspired no meaningful following. Its "army" was eliminated in one engagement, and its only traces will be found in the many books and publications in preparation that mark its true significance as a spectacular media event. Without Hearst and the national news industry, the SLA turns out to have been nothing at all.

Another media spectacular, more connected to the substantive structures of the nation's politics, is the Watergate affair. Its elements make up a kind of prism through which contemporary political forces are refracted to a clarifying point. Yet the lessons of Watergate seem as elusive to theorists on the Left as are the White House tapes to the House Committee. Does Watergate signify a lurch down the road to fascism, or a new vitality for liberal democracy?

Speculation about conspiracy in high places is now as common as complaints about the weather, while the specter of fascism haunts political forecasts across the whole spectrum of liberal-left attitudes. It is not readily clear, however, why Watergate should provoke this apprehensive mood. Not too long ago, one recalls, political anxieties were focused on the prospect of Nixon's re-election to "four more years," a period which would witness the intitutionalization of a fascist-military state. Conspiracy trials against radical demonstrators were pending from Chicago to Seattle; undercover agents were surfacing in left organizations everywhere; there was open warfare between the police and the Black Panthers; the campuses were aflame with radical protests; a genocidal war was being lost in Asia; and the RAND Corporation had been commissioned by the President to analyze the effects of declaring martial law, and the possibility of not holding the presidential elections in 1976.

Now it looks distinctly possible that Nixon will not even survive in office until then, let alone suspend the electoral process and establish his permanent reign. Far from becoming a fascist dictator, he may end up, for all his mastery of the Machiavellian arts, as the first chief to be removed from office before the expiration of his term. Why then the paranoia?

Even three or four years ago, the fear of fascism didn't make sense to some of us (beyond the obvious and unarguable proposition that increased repression and the withdrawal of tolerance is always a real possibility within the system, like nuclear war). For as Nixon's bid for re-election moved into gear, nothing, from the vantage of those in power, indicated the need for a fascist state. Basic prerequisites did not exist: a potent threat from the Left, a mass movement on the Right. The anti-war forces had not been able to follow the Cambodia strike with any comparably effective or large scale action; moreover the anti-war movement itself had begun to disintegrate once Kissinger surfaced in Peking and, in the midst of the most horrendous air war in history, sat down to drink cocktails to the spirit of detente. Shortly thereafter (about the time it took to make a quick stopover in Moscow and drop mines in the harbor at

by David Horowitz

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And in the coming months, we'll cover:

- Ken Clawson's White House Media Operation
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Haiphong), it became clear that the war was going to be settled in the ministerial palaces, rather than by any confrontation in the streets of Washington or Saigon.

When the Vietnamese, under Soviet pressure, accepted Thieu and the Saigon regime, any necessity for a fascist repression at home went by the boards. Those who correctly made the link between increased external pressure on the imperialist state and domestic repression of the radical Left ought to have drawn the appropriate conclusion. Nixon's initiatives in the international sphere showed that "four more years," were going to be four more of the same concoction—racism and militarism, but liberalism too; corruption yes, fascism no.

* * *

Unfortunately, the habits of political thinking are harder to change than that. Two years ago, Carl Oglesby, one of the most astute and experienced political minds of the New Left, wrote in these pages that Nixon might be going to Peking with a bomb in his pocket instead of a deal. Subsequent events have proven the fear groundless: what Nixon was after in Peking was not military targets but a campaign picture with Chairman Mao. Yet Oglesby, like many others, is still operating on the assumptions that buried the New Left under a wave of sectarian paranoia and Hollywood terrorism during the disintegration of SDS and the heyday of the Weatherman war machine.

In a recent issue of the *Boston Phoenix*, Oglesby writes that the Watergate revelations actually confirm the old Weatherman perspective and prescription:

> Open organizations like SDS can no longer function, are no longer necessary, and will be increasingly subject to state-police repression. If activists mean to secure the integrity of their apparatus under these conditions, they will have to lay its foundations below the surface . . . The Weather analysis has hardly been overturned by events. Liberalism was pulling back before Nixon and not even Watergate has put it back on the offensive.

This is a most curious outlook. Since the fateful year of 1969, a war has been liquidated (if not ended) in Southeast Asia—without a military ripple, let alone a coup, as some predicted. There have been acquittals or dropped charges in an astonishing number of important political trials, including those of the Chicago 8, the Panther 21, Huey Newton, Angela Davis, Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins, the Soledad Brothers, the Seattle Conspiracy, and even the Detroit Weatherpeople.

On the other hand, the foremost figure of the conservative Right—Spiro Agnew—has been forced to resign the Vice-Presidency and relinquish his 1976 aspirations, under a cloud of criminal disgrace. The majority of the American people now think that their President, who ran on a platform of conservative law and order, is corrupt and malfeasant and ought to be impeached. What on earth would refute the contention that liberalism is on the defensive, if not this? In fact, the only dark spot is that—thanks in no small way to the Weather analysis and leadership—there is no open, above ground, mass organization like SDS, around which to rally radical forces.

There is of course a distinct possibility that in the end nothing would refute the Cassandras of revolutionary apocalypse. For there is an irreducible romanticism in illegal and military actions which speaks to the moral idealism of the revolutionary spirit, regardless of the political facts. It also provides a welcome alternative to the arduous and unglamorous task of organizing real constituencies for practical political objectives. The Weatherpeople did not really care that they were destroying SDS, just as the SLA didn't give a thought to the consequences of its actions for the rest of the political Left. They were individualists in the classic American vein. By their example, they intended to set the world on fire, and if they did not, well they wouldn't be around to cry over the pieces.

There is a necessary complement to the romanticism of revolutionary violence, namely the paranoia of fascist repression (and its early syndrome, police infiltration). One of the more disturbing elements in Oglesby's analysis is that he suggests, without any evidence, that the Progressive Labor Party, whose sectarian politics were incomprehensible to him and other SDS leaders, was manipulated by the police in order to destroy SDS. ". . . Watergate . . . makes us ask new questions: How much of SDS's last madness was provoked by the state in order to destroy the movement, and in particular, how much of the damage done by PL was done on police design?"

This is a serious charge. Without evidence it is also a highly irresponsible one. Oglesby might just as well reverse the speculation and ask whether the kamikaze strategy of the Weather faction was not a more likely candidate for police inspiration. Especially since it not only provoked a

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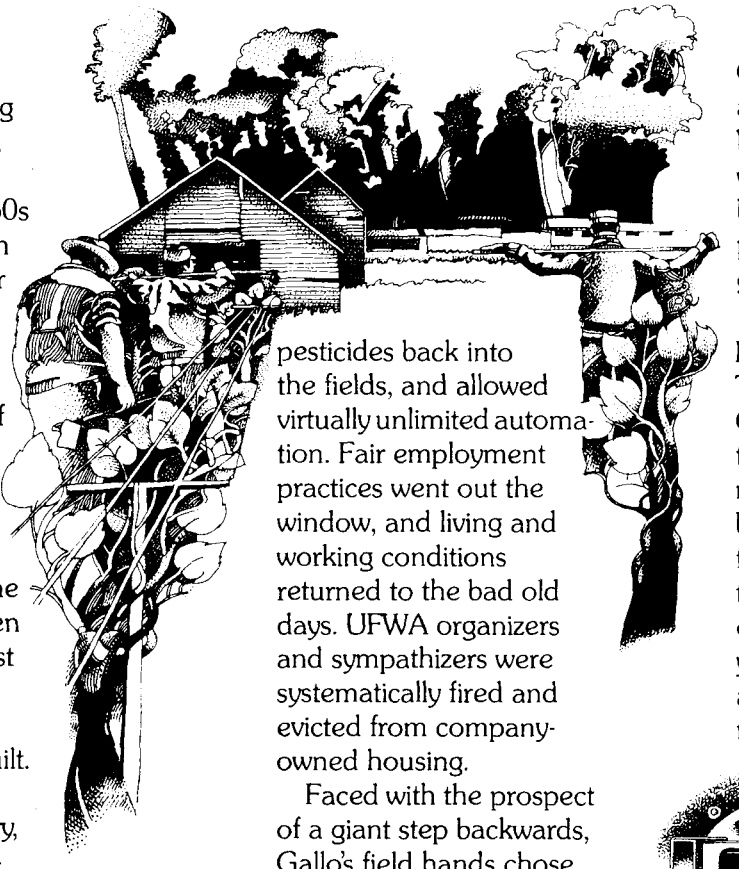
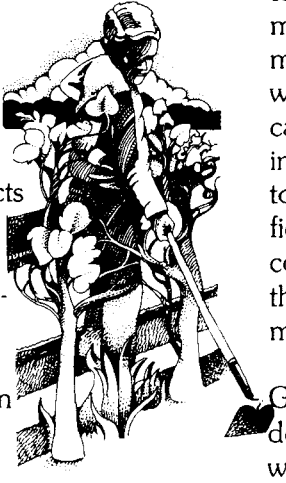
The union was the United Farm Workers of America (UFWA), and under its leadership conditions improved dramatically. A little *too* dramatically to suit some of the growers, and when the contracts expired last summer many growers did their best to destroy what the workers had built. Ernest and Julio Gallo, the world's largest winery, spearheaded the union-busting effort.



Last June, Gallo announced that UFWA contracts would not be renewed. New contracts were signed with the Teamsters Union, contracts that had been worked out behind closed doors with no worker participation. Not surprisingly, the contracts gave Gallo and the Teamsters Union everything they wanted, and gave the workers almost nothing.



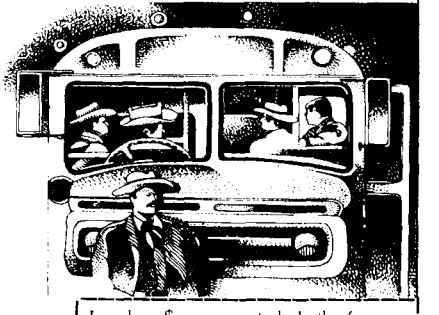
The Teamsters' contracts brought dangerous pesticides back into the fields, and allowed virtually unlimited automation. Fair employment practices went out the window, and living and working conditions returned to the bad old days. UFWA organizers and sympathizers were systematically fired and evicted from company-owned housing.

Faced with the prospect of a giant step backwards, Gallo's field hands chose to go out on strike. But men, women and children manning the picket lines were met with a massive campaign of violence and intimidation forcing them to withdraw from the fields and return to the consumer boycott. But they need your help to make it work.

The basic issue in the Gallo boycott is, simply, democracy. The workers want the right to choose their own union through free, independently supervised elections.

Other American workers are guaranteed this right by law, but agricultural workers aren't. By boycotting *all* Gallo products, you can help give them this basic right.

Boone's Farm, Spanada, Ripple, Thunderbird, Tyrolia, Andre, Eden Roc, Carlo Rossi, Red Mountain and Paisano are all made by Gallo, and should be avoided. America's farmworkers have broken their backs for hundreds of years to put food on your table. Now they're asking you to do something for them. Will you?



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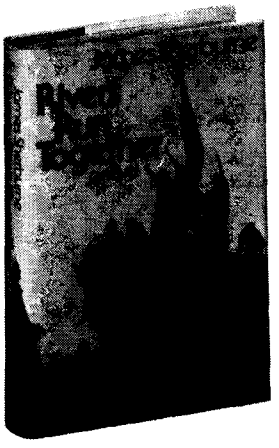

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split in the most significant national organization of the Left, but also destroyed anything that might remain by creaming off its best cadres for a suicidal binge that burned out morally those whom it did not bury in the oblivion of the political underground.

Yet what is most clear in the demise of SDS is that both hypotheses about police responsibility, in addition to being dangerous, are utterly superfluous. The course of the organization's destruction required no police intervention at all (even supposing that the police were capable of the level of intelligence that such an intervention would require). The final clash of the contending factions was merely an extension of the public politics expressed by both over the course of the preceding struggle. The leadership of Bernadine Dohrn and Mike Klonsky, which Oglesby unaccountably admires, was as irresponsible, opportunistic and programmatically unreal as the leadership of PL was sectarian, dogmatic and self-defeating. Everyone understood what was happening, but given the low level of SDS's previous political development, no one was able to do anything about it. The real lesson is that politics is a more serious, complex, and less simply moral enterprise than the early SDS leadership surmised.

* * *

The lesson that Oglesby draws in the light of the Watergate revelations is different, however, and because of its paranoid basis, fails to make sense even in its own terms. With incipient fascism as the assumed political framework, according to Oglesby, open organizations become increasingly untenable. True, he regrets the situation and recognizes that SDS's openness was at times a "vital precondition to the emergence of a new politics." Yet what sticks from his analysis is the idea that openness was also a "mortal liability" and that a realistic politics in times like the present implies organizations whose foundations are covert.

In fact, the whole historical experience of political repression in America indicates just the opposite. By far the easiest organizations for police to influence and control are those which are most secretive, most disciplined, and whose apparatus is secured "below the surface." For "below the surface" is precisely where police operatives find it most comfortable to work. There, removed from view, they need not define and defend political ideas and programs as a means of achieving influence. There, channels of access and power narrow to individuals, who are most vulnerable to pressures, bribes, and manipulations. In the bureaucracy—the party apparatus—rather than the political leadership lies the true target of police intervention. This is not mere speculation, moreover. The history of the American Communist Party's underground period, during the McCarthy repression, is rife with stories of FBI agents occupying strategic positions—like personnel—where they could expose and derail a whole organization; while for "security reasons" the rank and file were themselves kept ignorant of the levers and logics of party power.

The safest and most effective politics, in times of repression as in times of liberal tolerance, is a politics which is open, democratic and publicly defended, because it maximizes support and mobilizes members on the basis of clearly comprehended positions rather than mysterious loyalties which are vulnerable to unscrupulous manipulation. The best security for an organization under attack is to be connected to real constituencies which will rise to its defense. True realism would regard going underground as a last, desperate resort, since it severs the organization's links with the constituencies which provide its maximum defense. It is a path to be taken not as a leap into real (because dangerous?) revolutionary action, but only when no aboveground politics are possible—a situation that has *never* existed in the United States, not during McCarthyism and certainly not during the era of the New Left. One other possibility does, however, exist: on the brink of a test for state power, when the Left is a majority force, and the Center—as in Chile—is reaching for its military card. To prepare an armed response then is basic self-defense. But to indulge at this historical moment in that sort of fantasy, when the Left is hardly even an organized presence, let alone a contender for significant power, is a pathological, not a political, mode of reflection.

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WOUNDED KNEE - THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES. . . .

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Send contributions to: Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee
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ster·i·lize (ster′ə līz′) *vt.* **-lized′, -liz′ing** to make sterile; specif., *a*) to make incapable of producing others of its kind, as by removing the organs of reproduction or preventing them from functioning effectively *b*) to make (land) unproductive *c*) to free from living microorganisms, as by subjecting to great heat or chemical action Also [Chiefly Brit.] **ster′i·lise′** —**ster·i·li·za·tion** (ster′ə li zā′ shən) *n.* —**ster′i·liz′er** *n.*

Sterilization: Who Decides?

Into her womb convey sterility!
Dry up in her the organs of increase.
– King Lear, *I, iv.*

Holly Kemp of Richmond, California, is 32 years old and black. She is, according to a document in a current court case, "mildly retarded," which is why she lives under supervision in a Lafayette, California, nursing home. But Holly Kemp is not so retarded that she does not understand the meaning of the word "sterilization." Like a great many women in the United States–a lot of them black, a lot of them poor, a lot of them of possibly diminished competence–Holly Kemp does not want to be sterilized. She especially does not agree that anyone has a right to do that to her against her will.

To that extent, Holly Kemp agrees with Nial Ruth Cox of North Carolina, who is also black–the principal difference being that there is nothing that Nial Ruth Cox of North Carolina can do about it. She is now 26, but the state of North Carolina allowed–indeed, ordered–her sterilization when she was 17. Nial Ruth Cox was not even mildly retarded; her "problem" was simply that she was on welfare.

"I was 17 and pregnant," she remembers. "I was living with my mother and eight brothers and sisters. I got pregnant because I didn't know about birth control. When the welfare caseworker found out, she told my mother that if we wanted to keep getting welfare, I'd have to have my tubes tied temporarily. I asked the doctor later if I could have more kids. He brushed me off. Then I found out I couldn't."

Note the word *temporarily*. Note the word *later*. Under the North Carolina statute that permitted the sterilization of Nial Ruth Cox, there have been 1,107 sterilizations performed in the last ten years. When you consider that there were about 99,000 live births in all of North Carolina in 1970, and about 30,000 live black births, that gives you an idea of the population "sample." There is no study of how many of those 1,107 women were lied to before the operation.

Brenda Feigen Fasteau is an attorney working with the Women's Rights Project of the American Civil Liberties Union. On behalf of Nial Ruth Cox, Fasteau and the ACLU have brought suit against various North Carolina officials, the idea being to get North Carolina's law tossed out as unconstitutional on any of ten or a dozen different grounds. Of Nial Ruth Cox, Fasteau says that she "is not and never has been mentally defective, although the doctor who performed the operation asserted that she was. But no criteria whatsoever were used to determine this. In our opinion she was sterilized because she was black, a member of a welfare family and, at the time of the operation, a minor."

The part about her being a minor is interesting, because the national office of the ACLU has turned up cases of the forced sterilization of black welfare minors, as young as 11 or 12 years old, in Texas, Florida, Alabama and South Carolina. But the South has no corner on either racism or inhumanity. There are 22 states that permit the forced sterilization of anyone whom a court may find "mentally defective," and one of the 22 is California.

* * *

Holly Kemp has been institutionalized for almost all of her life, so nobody knows why her father, Joseph L. Kemp, suddenly turned up in California's Contra Costa County Probate Court–with a private attorney who is presumably being paid

by Gene Marine

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by his client—to have Holly declared incompetent and to have him, the father, designated as her guardian. Joseph L. Kemp does not pay much, if any, of the cost of the nursing home in which his daughter Holly lives; possibly he cannot. The cost is borne through a little money from Social Security and some state aid, along with Holly's own small income from the sale of handicrafts. Whatever his reasons, Kemp did so apply. And on becoming her guardian, he filed (within two weeks) a petition in the same court that her sterilization be ordered.

In law, there's always something peculiar to the individual case that fouls up the general application. In this case, it's the fact that a move by a guardian to sterilize his "ward" wouldn't usually, in California, come in a probate court; it would come in superior court, with different rules—more "due process," a full adversary proceeding. That's one of the legal arguments on appeal.

But: In *any* guardianship matter, the law of California says that the ward is entitled to separate and independent counsel, if any possibility exists that the interests of guardian and ward may conflict. So in this case, the judge put the Public Defender's office on Holly Kemp's side.

Joseph L. Kemp told the court that Holly was "sexually active"; that any child of hers would probably be mentally retarded; that an abortion would be dangerous to her health; and that the care of any child would be a burden on himself (or, he conscientiously added, on the state). No evidence whatever was introduced to support any of these statements, although the last would seem to be self-evident and may have been operative.

The young lawyer from the Public Defender's office challenged none of this testimony—a lot of which was legally hearsay—and introduced no witnesses. Kemp said he knew that Holly had been "sexually active" because their doctor told him so. Interviewed on the subject, the doctor said that *he* knew that she had been "sexually active" because Joseph Kemp had told *him* so.

What has come out is that no method of birth control has ever been suggested to Holly Kemp, as far as anyone can find out. What has also come out is that there is one psychiatrist, a Dr. Richard Komisaruk, who has examined the case, and this is what he wrote about the idea of conveying into her womb sterility:

> It would seem to me that the most conservative and reversible methods of birth control should be employed on this patient. The fact of her retardation does not, in my opinion, justify the use of the most drastic procedure when more conservative and less psychologically traumatic methods are available and should be attempted at first.

And then there are facts. The nursing home in which Holly Kemp lives is occupied entirely by women. She is under constant and unremitting supervision. She leaves the premises only as one of a supervised group. Still, the court said: Do it.

But an odd thing happened. The Public Defender, looking over the case with a view toward deciding whether to appeal, realized that one of the strongest arguments on appeal would have to be that Holly Kemp's counsel had been incompetent. Now the PD, a public servant, has a problem if he appeals on the grounds that the PD's office is incompetent. So—in one of the more commendable demonstrations of public responsibility in recent years—the Public Defender himself called the ACLU and asked them to undertake the appeal on behalf of Holly Kemp.

* * *

The ACLU, however, is not given to allowing the particular to overwhelm the general. Other ACLU units have dealt with, and are dealing with, forced sterilization in other states, and the aim is not only to save Holly Kemp from the curse of Lear but to make rules that apply to everybody. Holly Kemp's case, for instance, ties closely to another ACLU case, a suit against Dr. Clovis Pierce and officials of Aiken County Hospital in South Carolina.

In that county, says the ACLU, one patient was told by Dr. Pierce that after her fourth child was born, she would, like it or not, be sterilized, or: 1) Pierce wouldn't give medical attention during or after the birth; 2) he wouldn't let her into the hospital; and 3) he'd see that her welfare was cut off. Another patient, refusing sterilization after the birth of her third child, was kicked out of the hospital with no postdelivery care and booted off welfare, the ACLU claims.

These were both state Medicaid patients. The whole Aiken County affair drew a little national attention last year when a 30-year-old black woman named Carol Brown complained publicly: all three obstetricians in Aiken (county seat, pop., 13,436) had refused to deliver her fifth child unless she agreed to sterilization. It turned out that in the first half of 1973, among the welfare mothers who had borne children in Aiken County Hospital, more than one third had been sterilized. Of those sterilized, 17 of 18 were black; 10 of 18 were under 25 years old. Doc Pierce apparently explained it all in simple terms to a newspaper: "I work hard to pay my taxes. I'm tired of having people come to me to have babies that will have to be supported by tax dollars."

A doctor in Holly Kemp's California case referred to her at one point as "a 31-year-old colored female." In her case, as in that of Nial Ruth Cox, there is even some question whether she is mentally incompetent at all (though attorneys at this point do not wish, for tactical reasons, to challenge the competency hearing). But the ACLU is perfectly willing to argue in California about "the racist nature of eugenic procedures":

> It is an insult to this Court [reads the appeal brief] and to the people of this state to suggest that we need to protect ourselves from "deficient," "colored female[s]" by sterilizing them against their will and for the "public good" . . . Any child may become a burden. If petitioner is correct then all persons who receive welfare payments should be sterilized so that their children do not become charges of the state. Or perhaps all persons who do not meet the minimum income levels should be sterilized. To state the proposition is to reveal both its absurdity and its profound inhumanity.

Perhaps the only way to end is to claim some credit for my own restraint. I have not once, so far, mentioned Adolf Hitler.

Gene Marine is author of America the Raped *(Avon) and* A Male Guide to Women's Liberation *(Holt).*

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Europe: Scenario of Blood and Iron

by Alexander Cockburn

GENEVA, JULY 12—What you can do now in Europe is to build scenarios: hope for the best, fear for the worst. You can sit in Paris and listen to Left-wing journalists complain about Giscard D'Estaing's "cooptation of Left ideas"; you can sit in Rome amid urban paralysis, drinking a mixture of sewage and treacle put out by the Mafia and labelled Frascati, and wonder how long before the system goes bang. You can travel all over: jostle among Euro-bureaucrats and immigrant workers being repatriated as their vile jobs are confiscated; watch the inflation rates shoot up as people shift between hopes of a good life and fears of a worse one; compute exchange rates and political timetables in your head and feel that someone is about to turn the hourglass over.

You can sit in London, read that Gerrard, jewelers to Her Majesty the Queen, has never done better business; hear that Sotheby's, the auction house, is pleading with sellers to lower the reserves on their pictures, since no one is buying; note how the bottom is falling out of the wine business. You can read, too, that Jim Slater, king of the financiers in the City of London over the past six or seven years, has sold out his company's stock. He has gone liquid. "Cash," he says, "And bloodstock, are the only things worth holding these days."

A lot of rich and only reasonably rich people want out. But where to? It takes demonstration of about $3,000,000 in assets to settle in Switzerland these days. Spain and Portugal are not quite the attractive havens they used to be. Does anyone really want to settle now in Italy or Greece? And Australia and Canada were always ports of call in the storm for the lower middle classes, rather than for wealthier mariners with gold in their gunny sacks and a few heirlooms under their arms.

Where to? The rich, as I say, want out—but have fewer and fewer places to go. The poor want out, too, but lack the means to leave. I stood in a post office in northwest London a month ago and found myself surrounded by 70-year-olds collecting their pensions of about $30 a week. Many of them were collecting pensions for friends, too: those so weakened by

Illustration by Bill Plymton

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a constant diet of cat food that they could no longer leave their rooms. The few pound notes these old people were holding in their aging hands were getting frailer in strength, too. They talked about inflation with the nervous despair of people who just know that things—public announcements of confidence to the contrary—are not going to get better.

"But where are we today?" asked the *London Times* in a somber editorial.

> The Financial Times Index is now at its all time low. It is 31 percent below the level on June 26, 1940, which was the day after the news of the fall of France. If on that day a courageous Englishman, happening to have time to consider his financial affairs, had taken the equivalent of 100 gold sovereigns and put them in the London Stock Market as a gesture of his faith in the future of his country and his country's industry, and had then waited these 34 years to see his faith rewarded, he could now go back to the stock market and get back all of 69 sovereigns for the 100 he had put in.

The *Times* writer strove to find comfort in the news that towards the end of the terrible inflation in the Weimar Republic "the real value of equities rose." But it requires no first course in dialectics to see that such historical nostrums will be of no comfort to those old people in the post office, to the workers outside of those unions which have contracts gearing their wages to the cost of living index, to middle-class people on fixed incomes who see their savings sinking like lead weights through inflationary gas.

The anthropologist E. R. Leach once wrote about a tribe in the Burmese Highlands which had two world views—one for good times and the other for bad. In years of prosperity their theology assumed beneficient deities disposing events for the common good. The failure of a harvest, a shortage of sustaining pig meat, or whatever it was, plunged them precipitously to a theology of profound pessimism, where a distant and malign providence intervened in their affairs only to make them worse.

Just like those Burmese tribesmen, the Europeans shift uneasily in their theological postures now. Will the good god bring fertile and profitable deals with the Arabs? Will the oil billions stay in the Euro-dollar markets? Will North Sea oil flood the area with barrels of plenty? Will European industry match up against U.S. corporations? Or will the bad god bring recession, U.S. monopoly of Mideastern investment, continued inflation, political disintegration?

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I sat on the side of a Swiss mountainside, with a sheaf of European newspapers. The air was pure, and wildflowers abounded. A scene of unsurpassed pastoral beauty was further enhanced by cows with bells that chimed melodiously. Even if the bells had been supplied gratis to the farmers by the Swiss Tourist Board, it seemed carping to find fault. Only the newspapers disturbed the peace. In French, Italian, English, Spanish—and so far as I could discern—Dutch and German, their outlook seemed uniformly glum. Everything, in the eyes of correspondents and editorialists alike, seemed threatening. Italy in crisis; the Portuguese Cabinet about to fracture; the *maladie anglaise* as frightful as ever. Summer, it seemed, would give way to a dreadful fall.

In the interim between the crisis and the catastrophe, we may as well try to compile a scenario—and if history departs from the script a little, or is a little late in coming, there is no harm in seeing what might have been, or what people think now might come.

Let's start with Italy, somewhere in September. The tangled affairs of Michele Sindona—majority shareholder in the Franklin National Bank, big wheel in the Societa Generale Immobiliare of Rome, source of a million dollar offer to CREEP in 1972, reprisentative of some of the business affairs of the Vatican, controller of several Italian banks, partner in at least one Swiss bank, front man for London financial groups operating in Italy—finally explode. He is found dead in his apartment, an apparent suicide victim.

The Sindona Affair gathers speed immediately. It is rumored that he has been murdered—by the Mafia, by agents of the Pope, by the CIA. There is a disastrous run on all the banks with which he has been associated. There are riots in Milan, Rome and Bologna. The Government, reacting to documented proof that many of its members have been implicated in Sindona's affairs—resigns. A Fascist outrage is perpetrated on a Communist demonstration. There is further rioting, and a continuing run on the banks. A government of National Unity is announced by President Leone. It is to be led by Gianni Agnelli, owner of Fiat, dominant in many other companies, many newspapers and magazines. The unions declare a general strike. Agnelli responds by ordering all banks to lock their doors, a freeze on all imports. He declares martial law. Meetings of more than three people are forbidden. The famous Turin Massacre occurs, when *carabinieri* open fire on a workers demonstration. There are bread riots. The strike extends to employees of the State Broadcasting System. Agnelli makes a speech in which he refers menacingly to "the possible assistance of our NATO allies."

The crisis is reaching boiling point just as it is announced that General Franco has died peacefully in his sleep. Prince Juan Carlos pronounces himself the legitimate successor. There are sporadic strikes throughout Spain. Directives from the Spanish Communist Party call for calm. All meetings and political demonstrations are banned by the Spanish Cabinet. Meanwhile, leftist army officers in Portugal say that the spirit of the spring coup d'etat has been betrayed, in view of the postponement of elections *sine die*. In a number of factories, workers say they will maintain occupation until the elections are guaranteed. Inflation is running in Portugal at 40 percent despite a government freeze on wages and prices.

In Britain, the Wilson Labor Government is re-elected in a late September election by a narrow majority. Within days of his reinstallation at No. 10 Downing Street, Prime Minister Harold Wilson is forced to resign, owing to illness—assumed to be cancer of the prostate. A fierce power struggle ensues in which the forces of the Left are led by Anthony Wedgwood Benn. He promises sweeping nationalizations. The largest car manufacturing company in the country, British Leyland, announces that it is bankrupt. The car workers occupy the factories and declare that they will only abandon them if the government takes over British Leyland. Benn travels to Coventry, and in an emotional speech to the car workers, promises full workers' control of the industry under a socialist government. The right wing of the Labor Party, under the leadership of Jenkins in alliance with Callagan, an-

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nounces that if Benn is elected as party leader and hence Prime Minister, they will form a centrist coalition with the Liberals.

However Benn is confirmed as party leader and hence Prime Minister. He announces a freeze on the export of sterling. A consortium of businessmen and conservative politicians call a Conference of National Emergency. A crucial vote on a nationalization program is lost, owing to the defection of 30 Labor members to the Liberals. The Government falls, and Britain prepares for its second general election within a month.

The Governor of the Bank of England announces that the trade figures are the worst in history. The International Monetary Fund and the Central Bankers proclaim that no further loans to Britain will be forthcoming unless there is severe deflation, curtailment of social services, guarantees of industrial peace and stability. The military chiefs of staff announce that the bulk of troops are being withdrawn from Northern Ireland "to guarantee constitutional stability on our native soil." The prime interest rate rises to 16 percent. Banks start foreclosing on mortgages. Many occupiers refuse to abandon their homes, and in a guarded statement, the Commissioner of the London Police announces that "the police do not necessarily regard it as one of their functions to assist in the dislodging of families, or indeed of workers from factories."

* * *

Hitherto, on a stage obscured by chaos, West Germany had seemed stable. Now inflation finally catches up with the German economy. Exports dwindle as Germany's foreign customers sink into recession. Furthermore, the spy scandal that forced Brandt's resignation erupts again. Secret memoranda published in *Spiegel* seem to show that Schmidt, the Chancellor, had been informed in early spring by the CIA that Brandt's assistant was an East German spy; that Brandt himself had been on the verge of exposing him; that Brandt himself—a former client of the CIA—had been feeding his assistant disinformation. Schmidt is hard pressed to explain his role.

As the charges and countercharges fly, the Westdeutsches Landesbank goes broke: it had been speculating on the International Exchange Market. The news of its desperate situation is leaked by a dissident official; there is an immediate run on the bank, and it is forced to lock its doors. The West German Government announces guarantees of depositors' security, but it is too late to avoid general panic. The Christian Democrats call for an immediate election.

At this moment, the Shah of Iran is shot and critically wounded as he travels through the streets of Rawalpindi, in the course of a state visit to Pakistan. A young man of Franco-Saudi descent is arrested. The Iranian Cabinet immediately withdraws all Iranian deposits from the Banque Nationale in Paris. An acute balance of payments crisis ensues. France is refused credits by West Germany and, in retaliation, cuts off its food exports across the Rhine. French farmers converge on Paris, touching off serious confrontations with the CRS. The CGT calls a general strike in sympathy, and students occupy the Sorbonne. An ugly mood of nationalism erupts in Germany as a result of the French food embargo, which is supported by the Dutch, who furthermore announce that all food surpluses "beyond our national needs" are to be sent to India in an attempt to alleviate the immense famine which has developed since the failure of the June monsoon.

In the middle of an accelerated world recession, Italy announces its withdrawal from the Common Market. President Nixon, shortly before the Senate vote on impeachment, announces that he will attend a NATO Security Council meeting in Brussels. Kissinger says that U.S. forces in Europe are to be strengthened "in view of increasing instability."

Meanwhile, Russian troops are poised on the Yugoslav frontier, as news comes of Tito's death. Croatian separatists announce the withdrawal of their province from the Federation of Yugoslav Socialist Republics. Despite a Red Alert, the U.S. lets it be known that it will not intervene. Russian troops appear in Belgrade and other major Yugoslav towns.

The withdrawal of Turkey from NATO changes the international picture. In a news briefing, U.S. Defense

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Secretary James Schlesinger warns that any "interference by the Soviet Union in the internal affairs of Turkey will be regarded as an act of war." He adds that the danger of world war is "now greater than at any time in the last twenty-five years."

Italian troops fire on workers as they march through the streets of Rome. Agnelli announces a ban on strikes and all political meetings. Numerous left-wing politicians are arrested. The Communist Party leadership prepares to go underground. In Spain the Army announces that it has taken over the reigns of government "in this interregnum in our Country's political destiny." In Portugal, General Spinola announces the uncovering of an Army plot against the Junta. He appeals for calm and announces the outlawing of all strikes and political demonstrations.

In Britain, amid mounting financial chaos, the new elections are held. No single party can form a majority government. As the leader of the minority party with the most seats, Benn assumes office; announces nationalization. His program is voted down. The right-wing Labor members, along with the Liberals and Conservatives, announce the formation of a National Government. The Trade Union Congress calls for a general strike. Troops are used to maintain essential supplies. A state of emergency is called. Strikes are banned. Police raid left-wing groups and arrest many leaders.

Amid "the greatest show of security ever seen," Nixon finally visits Brussels. The capital is ringed by NATO troops. To the government of France, Italy, Spain, and Britain, he pledges military and financial support "for legitimacy" in what is known as the "Nixon Plan." Sporadic fighting in Yugoslavia is quickly suppressed by Russian troops. The Chinese applaud the Nixon Plan as "the only counter to Soviet imperialist plans in Europe." The Russians announce that they still adhere to a policy of peaceful coexistence. The Americans are invited to a European Conference of Reconstruction in the wake of the Common Market's collapse. Unemployment in Europe is running at 20 percent.

Night settles over Europe. A regime of blood and iron begins.

* * *

Of course, you can say that this kind of stuff is the merest nonsense, and a dreadful waste of time. Now I'll admit that it probably is a little optimistic to say that the Shah will fall victim to an assassin's bullet. No such luck, in all likelihood. But, to stick to the raw facts at the moment, the Iranian deposits in the French central bank are busy shoring up the franc (and, in another area, holding 25 percent of Krupp), and their abrupt withdrawal would cause deep grief. It is, furthermore, more and more evident that the Euro-currency market is falling into a state of grave disrepair.

Naturally, if you accept the facts of inflation in every country, and contemplate the fiscal and monetary measures various governments have at their disposal, you can say that huge discontent by the masses, increasing social unrest at the base, etc., etc., will lead to the installation of socialism—of scarcity, we might add—in half the countries of western Europe. The scenario I imagined led to quite the reverse situation. In the two countries which might be most significantly thus affected—Britain and Italy—there is already, and will be increasingly greater, social dislocation, but not of a magnitude that will, I think, leave the state power (over armies, etc.) of either country in catastrophic disarray. Unlike Portugal, neither Britain, nor Italy, nor even for that matter Spain, is emerging from an exhausting colonial war fought by an increasingly surly conscript army.

Europe is not in a post-1918 situation, where the horrors, blunders and incompetencies of the First World War were still etched out in blood and massacre. It is, more evidently, in the situation at the end of the Twenties, with the world economy on a downswing. To buttress this, we might even refer to some figures in the *London Economist,* "The British people is now on course to suffer nearly a five percent fall in its real disposable income —the best measure of its standard of living—in the two years between 1973 and 1975. This is a bigger expected drop in personal spending power than Britain suffered in the worst years of the slump in 1929 to 32, although then unemployment soared from 1.2 million—or 11 percent of the insured labor force—to 2.75 million, or 21.5 percent of the labor force."

Needless to say, if exports dry up in a world recession, as each country determines to moderate its incomes, then those unemployment figures will start shooting up, too. This will give rise to social agitations like those indicated in the scenario. The *Economist* broods that "Britain is already well involved in one of its worst social crises, as well as probably standing on the threshold of one of its worst economic crises. . . . Some of the redundant will stage sit-ins, worker occupations, riots, kidnappings of executives." The *Economist,* it should be remembered, is a right-wing magazine, of the sort invariably described in American newspapers as "respected." If it is talking about kidnappings, then who else is?

The calculations are really very simple. Will the working class of the various countries be prepared to pay the price of deflation, recession, etc., in the form of having the advances in living standards scored during the postwar period wiped out? If one thinks that the spirit of resistance to this will be strong, then one could suppose that Black September would be followed by Red October.

There are certain things one can bet on: that Franco will go*; that Tito will go shortly; that the crisis in Italy will accelerate; that national aspirations and politics will prevent the Common Market from developing into the harmonious trading partnership opposed to U.S. hegemony that was envisioned; that there is a direct contradiction between the policies and hopes of the British Trade Union Movement together with its political allies in the Labour Party, and the ruling class. One can boil one or another sort of stew out of all this. But the basic ingredients are all there.

So, my friends, make up your own scenario. Propose a coup in Iceland if you want. Have the immigrant bank workers in Switzerland take over the Geneva banks. Temper realism with romance; but remember, the future is, as they say, just around the corner.

*** As we go to press, Franco, seriously ill, has appointed Prince Juan Carlos as "temporary" chief of state.—Eds.**

Alexander Cockburn is an editor of New Left Review, *and writes for the* Village Voice.

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The Rise and Fall of Welfare Rights

In the 1960s, civil libertarians began to grapple with the monumental task of imposing the rule of law on the institutions that control the lives of the powerless in American society. Rights never before recognized were won for children in juvenile courts, students in public schools, prisoners in jails, mental patients in asylums, and tenants in public housing. In the realm of welfare, a series of state and federal court decisions in the late 1960s promised to "constitutionalize" what had been the entirely arbitrary operations of the nation's welfare bureaucracy. The gains in those years seemed impressive. For example:

- **Surprise searches.** The California Supreme Court held that a county could not require a welfare recipient to consent to "midnight" searches of her premises, on peril of being thrown off welfare. While the Court said "ferreting out fraud" was important, it held that such efforts cannot violate "the constitutional rights [to privacy] of welfare recipients."
- **Residency requirements.** The U.S. Supreme Court ruled that a state's one-year residence requirement for receiving welfare was a denial of equal protection under the law.
- **Termination of benefits.** The U.S. Supreme Court held that due process of law requires an evidentiary hearing by administrative officials before welfare benefits can be terminated. The Court said shutting off welfare aid is unconstitutional as it "may deprive an *eligible* recipient of the very means by which to live while he waits" and hamper "his ability to seek redress from the welfare bureaucracy."

But these victories were not won in the courts alone. What must be understood is that the courts would not have handed down favorable decisions—indeed, attorneys probably would not even have taken the cases—were it not that a new political force had emerged in the United States. The new force was, of course, the black rebellion; as protests and riots spread from the South to the big northern cities, the powerless became a little less powerless. The process by which the courts responded to this new force was complex, mediated as it was by many other political events, not the least being the inauguration of the anti-poverty legal services program which provided the resources to make litigation possible. Even more important, the court victories were translated into practical victories because the protest movement forced relief agencies across the country to implement them.

Taken together this complex of forces transformed the relief system. The evidence of change is in the statistics on

by Richard A. Cloward and Frances Fox Piven

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caseloads. In 1964, there were slightly fewer than 1,000,000 families receiving Aid for Dependent Children (AFDC) grants nationally; by 1968, the number had risen to 1,500,000; and by 1973, in the wake of the recession that began in 1969, the caseload approached 3,000,000. The expansion of the relief system had thus helped the poor to obtain a little more money, and that is no small accomplishment.

However, the politics of welfare have changed: the black protests have subsided, a white backlash has developed, and the liberal trend in relief-giving is ending. The first sign was a drop in the nation's AFDC rolls in fiscal 1973, the first decline in more than a decade. To be sure, the numbers involved are small, but the decline reflects pervasive changes taking place in the welfare system. These changes are not primarily the result of new court rulings or new legislation, but are the consequence of the introduction of multiple administrative restrictions. Bureaucratic procedures designed to keep people off the rolls, no matter how poor they may be, are being elaborated, and many of them entail violations of civil liberties. And while this has thus far happened without any important reversals of the specific court victories won in the 1960s, recent court decisions have begun to parallel bureaucratic trends, for both reflect the new and hostile political climate.

[THE FIFTIES: BUSINESS AS USUAL]

The classic guidelines of the American welfare system are easy to describe: keep payments as low as possible; make the rules for eligibility as restrictive as possible; and concentrate complete discretion in the hands of welfare administrators so that welfare rolls can be manipulated at will.

These punitive practices are justified by a number of ideological premises: the Puritan work ethic (able-bodied workers should labor, and would find work if they tried); the assumption that government should be the relief-giver only of last resort (after family succor and private charity have proved insufficient or unavailable); and the belief that no government welfare program, as President Nixon said in his 1974 State of the Union message, should "ever make it more profitable to go on welfare than to go to work."

This ideology and practice of reluctant charity exists in the context of an economy that does not provide jobs for all those able and ready to work. The "official" level of unemployment (which greatly understates true unemployment) normally ranges between 4 and 7 percent of the total work force. High unemployment levels, together with restrictive relief practices, are usually considered desirable by economic elites, for they insure the continuance of a pool of "grateful" employees.

The decade of the 1950s is illustrative, for it offers a precedent for much that is happening to welfare rights now. During those years masses of people (particularly black people) were forced out of agriculture as machines replaced manual labor. Some languished in the countryside, scarcely subsisting. Many made their way to big cities. During the 1950s, a period many look back on nostalgically as "normal" and tranquil, unemployment in the cities, especially non-white unemployment, soared to depression levels.

What gave these years the aura of normalcy in the welfare sphere was not the absence of severe poverty, but rather the absence of severe disorder among the poor. And so long as the poor suffered in silence, the welfare rolls remained virtually unchanged. During the entire decade, with millions jobless in the cities, caseloads rose by a mere 110,000. Many southern cities actually slashed welfare rolls.

These low caseloads owed much to welfare practices that are best understood as a design to deter people from getting aid. The design has two simple components: most people are discouraged from seeking welfare, and many of those who do venture to seek it are refused. While these overall methods are simple enough, the mechanisms through which they are implemented are numerous and intricate.

The more important method of deterrence is to socialize people not to apply for welfare. If people do not assert their right to assistance, then they and their troubles do not exist, at least from the perspective of the welfare bureaucracy. This method was employed effectively during the 1950s, when applications for welfare remained very low despite the traumatic poverty experienced by millions.

This circumstance deserves examination, for it belies common-sense interpretations of human nature. People who were desperately poor did not turn to the agencies that presumably might have given them aid. The explanation lies partly in the ferocity of the American condemnation of pauperism. The poor ordinarily resist asking for aid, partly because they share American beliefs in the virtue of work and self-reliance, and also because they share the American conviction that work and self-reliance will be rewarded with success in the marketplace. Such beliefs make people reluctant even to acknowledge their poverty, for poverty implies personal failure. It makes them especially reluctant to seek public assistance, for to do so is not only to acknowledge failure, but to forfeit any remaining pride in self-reliance. These beliefs are constantly reinforced by the welfare system itself by its ritual degradation of the poor.

One form of degradation has been the withdrawal of ordinary rights, including the right to domestic privacy, the right to mate, and even the right to parenthood. Thus, during the 1950s, surprise raids by welfare inspectors checking for violations of restrictive rules were commonplace. So were other forms of surveillance, including the quizzing of one's neighbors by investigators. Seldom was any of this done with the formality of legal warrants. Similarly, families with fathers in the household were declared ineligible for welfare, forcing the family to break up in order to survive. Many states also prohibited mothers on welfare from having sexual relationships with men; if such a relationship was discovered the welfare department, claiming the man to be a source of support, cut off aid. During the 1950s several states also made much-publicized efforts to remove welfare children from "unsuitable homes," where there had been an illegitimate birth. Such practices demoralized those already on welfare, and deterred many who needed aid from asking for it.

Similar effects were achieved by the ritualistic "welfare fraud" carnival. First, an ambitious local politician would "expose" wholesale cheating among welfare clients. The press would carry the charges prominently. Next, an investigation would be launched, with recipients coerced into "co-

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operating" on the threat that their checks would be terminated. The investigating committee soon would report that there was indeed widespread welfare "ineligibility." This slippery term meant that fraud investigators differed in judgment with welfare officials about whether various families qualified for aid under the numerous and detailed regulations; only a few people ever were found "cheating." But the public typically was led to believe that "ineligibility" meant "fraud." In the glare of continuing publicity, welfare administrators would then begin to cut people from the rolls, without even the barest semblance of due process. The much-publicized scandals made many other people reluctant to apply for aid they were entitled to, and the number of welfare applications would drop dramatically.

Even apparently benign activities such as "rehabilitation" programs operated to discourage applicants and degrade recipients. Rehabilitation consisted of involuntary counseling and work-training procedures which, it was claimed, would make those on the dole employable. But the number of clients who became employed as a result was so low as to be laughable, a not surprising outcome as people who could reasonably be expected to find employment were not admitted to the rolls in the first place. To require people to undergo such "treatment" procedures is to define them as deficient; to require them to undergo remediation and then, of necessity, to fail, is to define them and the welfare status as utterly hopeless. That point is not lost on potential applicants.

Still another feature of the welfare system in the 1950s that deliberately helped discourage applications was the widespread ignorance among the poor of welfare laws and regulations. The regulations regarding entitlements were complex and detailed, usually occupying several volumes. Had any of the poor been so intrepid as to demand to know the regulations, they would have been refused access; welfare departments regarded these manuals as if they were secret administrative documents.

Not all the poor were deterred from seeking aid; for some, sheer necessity overcame shame and fear. But those who applied were then confronted by the numerous and effective barriers of the welfare bureaucracy itself. Staff people characteristically challenged the applicant's credibility, demanding an accounting of how the applicant had managed until then ("Where did you get that watch?") and why she or he couldn't continue to manage ("How much food is in your cupboard?"). Recent migrants to the cities usually were rejected out of hand, under minimum residency laws that made them ineligible. Legal documents such as birth certificates or rent receipts frequently were required; if the documents could not be produced, the applicant might be rejected despite her or his financial needs. Neighbors were visited, homes searched, all in an effort to find evidence to invalidate the application, and all in blatant violation of the right to privacy. Moreover, in many localities, weeks and months elapsed while the "intake" process dragged on, with the result that many applicants gave up. Those who persisted were often rejected anyway. There was no need for the reasons to be precise: welfare departments required their staffs to record and document in detail the grounds for accepting applicants, not for rejecting them.

In the 1960s this design in deterrence temporarily broke down, and many more people got aid. As is usually the case, the liberalization of welfare was a political phenomenon. Stimulated by the activism of the civil rights movement, the black poor began to question who really was to blame for their plight. The sheer numbers of people enduring the same misery made traditional American explanations of poverty unconvincing. Blacks began to blame "the system." The masses who had remained quiescent, despite their travails in the 1950s, rose up in protest; it was a time of marches and demonstrations, of sit-ins and riots. This explosion, and the conciliatory responses by government to it, resulted in a transformation of the patterns that had made possible the wholesale denial of public benefits and of elementary civil liberties in the 1950s and decades prior.

National political leaders who sought the votes of the increasingly volatile and politically conscious urban blacks aided the transformation. Initially, the politicians' response was rhetorical. The Kennedy Administration began to issue a steady stream of pronouncements regarding the need to overcome racial injustices in America, and then instituted some service programs for blacks in the inner city. The

Welfare demonstration, Brooklyn, 1969

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Johnson Administration escalated the rhetoric and expanded the service programs. Most notably, and with much publicity about economic injustices in America, it inaugurated the "war on poverty."

The changing climate and the new service programs helped to erode inhibitions about asserting claims to welfare. If blacks in America were the victims of centuries of political and economic injustices, as many educated and influential elites were now saying, perhaps the poverty of individuals and families were not so shameful after all.

The other techniques of deterrence began to weaken as well, largely as a result of the activities of the new federal programs that had been established to serve and to placate blacks. The new federally-funded agencies were not beholden to state legislatures and their mandate was to give service to the poor and the black. One way for modestly funded agencies to help people was to inform them of the availability of relief. In this way, many people learned for the first time of their eligibility for other public benefits. In time, the distribution of information became systematized, taking form in something akin to mass advertising. For example, legal-service lawyers brought suits to force the release of official welfare manuals, and thousands of handbooks of simplified welfare regulations were prepared and distributed. One method by which the poor ordinarily were regulated—keeping them ignorant—had collapsed.

Other bureaucratic obstacles to getting on the rolls also began to crumble, partly through the new aggressiveness of the applicants. People were not rejected so casually when they themselves were not so timid, or when they were aided by the staffs of the new federal service agencies. Nor were people rejected so capriciously when welfare officials had to fear that angry crowds milling about in welfare centers could ignite riots in the streets.

As a result of such developments, the rate of approval of welfare applications rose by 25 percent in the 1960s. As more of those who applied got aid, still more applied. By 1968 the rolls were twice what they had been in 1960; they doubled again in 1969.

[THE SEVENTIES: BACK TO NORMALCY]

By 1970 the political forces that had led to the liberalization of welfare practices began to run their course, and a reaction began to build. Ghetto protests subsided, partly because many people had at least gotten the concession of a relief check, and partly because the most active elements in the ghetto population—the leaders and agitators and organizers—had been quieted by another concession: namely, the availability of jobs in government, in business, and the universities. Most important, national political opinion was shifting to the right.

The change in the political climate usually is attributed to the "backlash" among white working- and middle-class people, who resented what they believed to be preferential treatment toward blacks and the threatening presence of "unruly" blacks. Much of this probably is true, but strong

Welfare hotel

George Cohen

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currents of white racism were present during the Kennedy and Johnson eras as well. Change occurred not only in popular attitudes, but in the role of political elites. On the national level, Republican leaders took advantage of white resentments to lure Democratic voters, raising cries of "law and order" and "workfare" and "self-reliance"—the code words intended to capitalize on racial antagonism. State and local politicans hastened to join the rhetorical assault, intensifying popular resentments against blacks even more. The politics of race had re-emerged on the American scene.

This political shift had dramatic consequences for welfare practices. Just as increases in the welfare rolls in the 1960s depended on a changed self-image among the poor, so the current reduction in the rolls has depended on restoring the old definitions and reawakening the sense of shame and degradation. And just as the easing of the prohibitions against welfare was facilitated by the liberal postures of national leaders during the Kennedy-Johnson era, so has the strengthening of prohibitions been facilitated by the hostility of the present Administration. State political leaders, particularly in those states that experienced large welfare increases, quickly joined the campaign. New York's Governor Rockefeller, for example, engaged in a grand rhetorical display when he proposed to overcome court rulings holding residency laws unconstitutional with a new law refusing welfare to all newcomers who had not first managed to find "standard" housing or health care. (If this requirement for receiving government service were applied to other groups, much of the population of New York City would have been forced to locate elsewhere.)

With the erosion of due process, fraud investigations have been started in many states and, just as before the period of liberalization, the fraud investigators are beginning to report high percentages of "ineligibility" among welfare recipients. On closer inspection "ineligibility" turns out, as it did in the 1950s, to consist mainly of departmental errors, of inadvertent and minor deviations from the numerous technical requirements involved in qualifying for welfare, or of differences of opinion among auditors working for competing political leaders. Some of the fraud reports are themselves fraud. A highly publicized 1971 report by George Berlinger, the New York State fraud czar, asserted that one-third of the caseload in New York City might involve fraud. The report received front-page publicity. Closer inspection of Berlinger's report shows, however, that his statistic was based on an investigation of a sample caseload made up mainly of addicts and alcoholics, whose fraud consisted largely in the fact that the investigators could not find them at the addresses given.

The slim and dubious grounds for charges of criminal fraud do not, however, prevent welfare departments from closing cases summarily. A report by New York City's Human Resources Administration acknowledged that almost two-thirds of the case closings in 1972 were "not clearly related to need," nor was there the slightest implication of fraud in them; rather, the cases were closed because of alleged non-compliance with various minor administrative technicalities, such as the failure to get an ID picture. Some of the people discharged on such grounds finally get back on the rolls, but not many. Only one in five people removed from welfare in 1972 was restored to the rolls by the end of the year, thus helping to fulfill the goal of the fraud-scare tactic.

Anti-housing project demonstration, Queens, N.Y.

The publicity stimulated by the investigations also helps to lower the rolls, for it reinforces the public image of welfare clients as cheats and malingerers; whatever liberal support exists for the rights of welfare recipients dwindles. Most important, many poor people who might otherwise assert their right to aid are deterred from doing so.

Other classic methods of intimidation and degradation to discourage people from asking for aid are also being reinstituted. HEW recently announced that state and local welfare departments would again be permitted to question the neighbors and relatives of welfare applicants and recipients without the recipients' consent. At the same time HEW deleted from its regulations the obligation of welfare agencies to refrain from searches of homes under false pretenses or during sleeping hours and to respect the dignity and right to privacy of clients.

In a similar vein, and with similar effect, there has been a revival of involuntary "rehabilitation" via coercive training and employment programs (see page 27). Just as in the 1950s, these programs simply cannot be justified by their "rehabilitative" effects on the people exposed to them. Many of the forced-work programs verge on peonage; they make recipients "work off" their welfare payments by raking leaves or sweeping floors for a couple of days a week. Most welfare recipients are not given real jobs. The one training program that was intended to result in real jobs—the much heralded Work Incentive Program (WIN), first legislated in 1967—succeeded by February 1970 in placing in jobs 22,000 welfare recipients out of 1,478,000 screened for the program. In the normal course of events, at least as many recipients would have left the rolls for jobs anyway. In 1972 the Congress "strengthened" the WIN program by introducing some of the more coercive features of the defeated Family Assistance Plan (FAP).

A recent evaluation of the extensive job training and referral programs in New York City showed that about 7 percent of those designated "employable" actually ended up in jobs. The report concluded that without a substantial improvement in the employment market, the results would be the same in the future.

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Methods of bureaucratic deterrence are also being restored, and without any important changes in welfare laws. Welfare departments have become much stricter in insisting on detailed compliance with existing procedures to establish eligibility. They have also made these procedures more elaborate, and thus more difficult to comply with. For example, the intake application form in New York City has been expanded from 2 to 12 pages. Not only does this intimidate applicants, it provides far more possibilities for disqualifying applications on technical grounds. New HEW regulations have encouraged this change by eliminating all federal guidelines for the application process except the requirement that the local agencies obtain applications in writing. HEW does not limit the kinds of information and verification required in these applications, nor does it require welfare departments to aid the applicant in completing the application process.

Waiting periods for assistance are building up. For example, HEW also recently endorsed extending the federally permitted maximum waiting period from 30 to 45 days. In many cities, the lines outside some welfare centers now form at dawn, and most of those waiting will only get a number and be told to come back another day. The right of appeal from agency decisions, which had always existed on the books but which anti-poverty lawyers made effective the first time in the 1960s, is being eroded by recent HEW regulations limiting the circumstances under which a hearing may be demanded, and broadening the discretion of state welfare agencies over the conduct of such hearings.

Federal and state courts also have begun a retreat from judicial "interference" with the freedom of state and local legislatures to cut back on program coverages, and to "crack down" on welfare recipients. Two U.S. Supreme Court decisions indicate the reversal of direction: that a state ceiling on welfare payments does not violate equal protection, even though payments to large families are clearly insufficient under standards of need established by the states; and that welfare recipients, on pain of having their benefit payments ended, have to accept "home visits" by welfare caseworkers during "working hours," even though these inspections are essentially searches and no judicial warrant has been obtained to authorize them.

[IS REFORM POSSIBLE?]

What prospects are there then for more long-lasting reform? Can the legal basis of the welfare system be reconstructed so as to ensure that the constitutional rights of the poor are observed, even at times when the poor remain acquiescent and therefore powerless? Some hope is held out by those who advocate various "guaranteed income" schemes, such as the negative income tax. By establishing uniform national grant levels and uniform criteria of eligibility to be administered by a national agency, these proposals would, in the view of their advocates, ensure the poor a minimal right to income and limit state and local discretion.

But if one examines these proposals in the light of recent American politics, there is not much reason to be hopeful about the prospects for this or any other kind of reform. Political leaders are clearly moving in a direction very different from that of guaranteeing income. Their twin preoccupations consist of reducing the rolls and of enforcing low-wage work.

Given the dismal prospects for basic reform, we are left with the problem of dealing with the growing restrictiveness in the AFDC system. The one circumstance that might reverse the expected downward trend in the welfare rolls and the erosion of welfare rights is a serious recession, and there are signs at this writing that a recession may be in the making. Estimates by establishment economists of impending unemployment ranging up to 9 percent have become commonplace. Large numbers of unemployed, white as well as black, men as well as women, might become a threatening force both to welfare bureaucrats and to the politicians to whom welfare bureaucrats must always defer. It is doubtful that any force short of mass unemployment, and then only if it is accompanied by unrest among the unemployed, can fully turn back the concerted and pervasive drive toward welfare repression that is now taking place.

Richard A. Cloward is a sociologist and social worker who teaches at Columbia University. Frances Fox Piven is a political scientist at Boston University. A collection of their essays, The Politics of Turmoil: Poverty, Race and the Urban Crisis *has just been published by Pantheon.*

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Line outside New York welfare office

George Cohen

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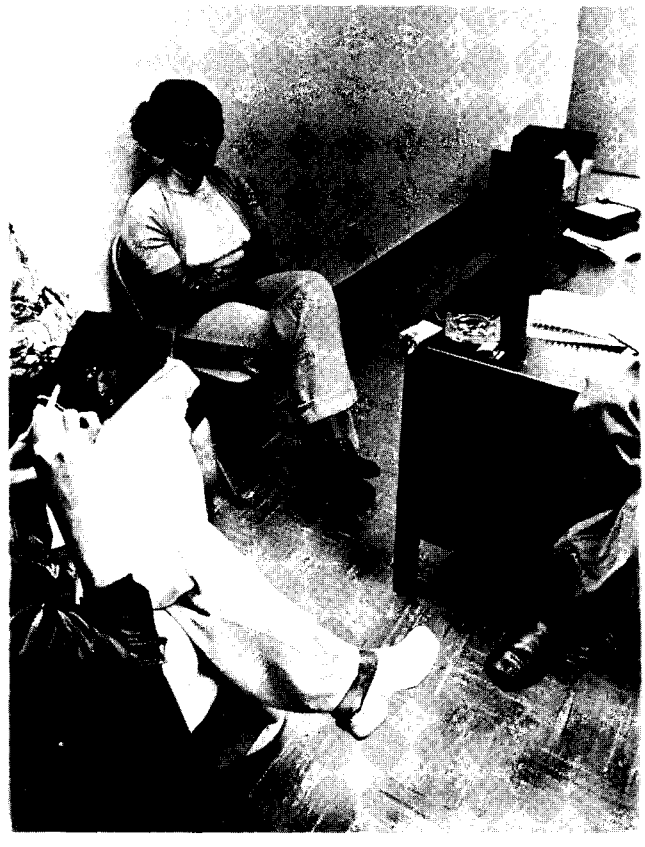
Workfare:

How Rhetoric Met Reality and Lost

Patricia C., a bright 18-year-old, was edging towards bitterness. "They said they were going to train me for a month. I thought they were going to show me all the office work." She was complaining about her job in San Francisco with CWEP, the Community Work Experience Program, which Ronald Reagan has called the "cornerstone" of his welfare program, and which he hopes to make into a steppingstone to the White House. Patricia volunteered for this program of work-for-a-welfare-check, which normally recruits people for work assignments by threatening to cut off their welfare payments if they refuse. Most of the CWEP clients who worked with her in the local welfare office (where most CWEP assignees work, doing chores such as filing, stuffing envelopes, or just standing around) quit in anger and despair.

Despite the fact that she was getting none of the training promised her, Patricia hung on, hoping that her work assignment would somehow lead to a regular job. "It bums me out a little," she said in her shy way. "I'm just not doing anything." But she figured "I'm closer to the jobs that are coming in [to the welfare office] than people on the outside," and perhaps one of those jobs would come her way. Still, she couldn't help wondering if something was terribly amiss about her situation. She would sometimes look at the telephone receptionist working next to her, doing the same job she did, with one difference. "She's getting paid; I'm not." Soon after she was interviewed, Patricia C. stopped coming to her CWEP assignment.

Patricia C., the Reagan-Nixon welfare bureaucracy would say, doesn't understand CWEP. "There's been a lot of misunderstanding of CWEP," said Peter Rank, head of the program. Penny Pendell, the official at Health, Education and Welfare in Washington, D.C., charged with reviewing the program, insisted that the CWEP issue was too complex for RAMPARTS to understand, and suggested strongly that the article be dropped. But Pendell had had her own misunderstandings with CWEP. In late May 1973, Pendell and two of her superiors, Gates L. Plumb and James Garrett, had decided that HEW kill the program "based on the fact that negative factors far outweigh the positives." But by June 29, just six days after former top Reagan official James S. Dwight, Jr., took over as the HEW administrator charged with deciding CWEP's future, Pendell prepared, and Garrett signed, a memo declaring the regional office's criticisms to be "based on a misunderstanding of CWEP objectives"; they recommended the program be continued. When the regional office raised some objections, Pendell flew to San Francisco and, according to Plumb and others, stripped the office of the authority to evaluate the program in the future. Asked about the abrupt reversal, Pendell responded that "The decision was made higher up. That's all I can tell you."



"It is necessary that the President or somebody knows about what happens here, because the money is not enough for us." — Zoela A.

If officials in HEW and CWEP are uneasy about misunderstandings within the welfare bureaucracy, they seem even more concerned that outsiders do not become "confused" by the problems that have developed. Welfare clients in San Francisco who spoke to RAMPARTS about their dissatisfaction with CWEP were questioned sharply by their supervisor about what they had said. Skip Charbonneau, the caseworker who arranged for the interviews, with the permission of the welfare clients, was threatened with dismissal, although superiors acknowledged that he had broken no

by Tom Zeman

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rules. Charbonneau was told that he had endangered the jobs of his superiors, especially since he had hinted that not all of them were enthusiastic about CWEP. "They're so freaky on this program," he said. "You'd think I'd given away the crown jewels or something."

In the HEW regional office in San Francisco, tamer now than last year when it issued its blast against CWEP, the tension was almost as great. Several officials, contacted by phone, said they had been warned that RAMPARTS was doing a story on CWEP. One, when told who was calling, asked angrily, "Do you want to get me fired?" Another HEW official, after acknowledging that there had been a dramatic change of policy at HEW in the past year, suddenly remembered that he had to clear all conversations with a public information officer, and said he would call back. He never did.

Investigations of CWEP by official state agencies have also been resisted by HEW. Upon learning that the California Auditor-General's office—an independent agency with the authority to get answers from every corner of the state bureaucracy was preparing a progress report on CWEP for the state legislature, HEW circulated a memo forbidding anyone in the San Francisco regional office from speaking with investigators. HEW documents on CWEP were passed to investigators from the Auditor-General anyway. Within days, a former White House aide named Rich Lewis had been dispatched by HEW to the San Francisco office, reportedly charged with locating the source of the leak.

[SADLY MISUNDERSTOOD]

What are the "misunderstandings" that seem to flow so regularly from the CWEP program, and why do they reach from disillusioned welfare clients to the top of the welfare bureaucracy in Washington? One is about job training, the subject that most concerned Patricia C. Since Governor Reagan declared that CWEP would provide "comprehensive employment training services" the HEW regional office had shared the assumption that CWEP assignees would receive on-the-job training, leading to real, full-time work. They were surprised to learn that "most of the assignments are menial, and little training or supervision is provided"; that CWEP's function is not training, but "good work habits"—or what Ronald Reagan calls "the work ethic." Patricia, who at 17, before going on welfare, had been commuting 25 miles by bus to stand at a cash register eight hours a day, should be glad to hear that.

There are also "misunderstandings" about the numbers of people in the program. Governor Reagan announced on two occasions in 1972 that 30,000 welfare recipients "will be given work assignments during the first year" of CWEP. Earl Brian, then California Secretary of Health and Welfare, was more specific, reporting in 1973 that "14,343 welfare recipients have participated in CWEP." But the Auditor-General's office reported in May 1974 that only 1,827 CWEP "placements" had been made in two years of operation; the report also revealed that each month an individual stays in the same CWEP assignment is counted as a separate placement. Clearly the real figure is much lower than 1,827, although no one admits to knowing what it is; CWEP head Peter Rank claims it would be "much too expensive" to find out. In any event, the discrepancy has been attributed to another "misunderstanding": Reagan and Brian are now said to have been talking about the numbers of potential, not actual, CWEP participants.

But despite the miasma of evasion and misunderstanding, despite the conflicting claims of success or failure, there is no misunderstanding the essential pattern of CWEP—and Ronald Reagan's approach to welfare. In the delicately phrased words of Peter Rank, the key to CWEP lies not in the benefits of job experience, but in the fact that "When given the option of looking very hard for a regular job or working for the community, [welfare residents] will put extra motivation into their job search." In other words, CWEP is meant to be a whip, an unpleasant alternative to the lowest-paying, most demeaning job on the market—a job market which supports a regular unemployment rate of seven percent *in addition to* the welfare unemployed.

[WITHOUT COMPASSION]

Reagan had long relied on welfare reform as a key issue in his rise to power in California; "welfare chiselers" was as effective an epithet as "campus rioters" and "crime in the streets" for getting out the vote from Eureka to Orange County. But Reagan did not have the tools he thought he needed to attack the welfare problem until 1971, after a meeting at San Clemente with Richard Nixon. According to Reagan, at that meeting Nixon offered the services of HEW for implementing a large-scale demonstration of the Governor's welfare plan—particularly CWEP.

At first, then-Secretary of HEW Elliot Richardson was not overly cooperative, leading Reagan to send him a pointed reminder to move ahead on approval of the CWEP plan. "I don't have to tell you," he wrote, "the President, in a meeting several months ago at the Western White House, told . . . me that he wanted to see put into effect the kind of broad-based demonstration project I described to him."

Meanwhile, the higher levels of HEW were being infiltrated with Reagan men. The takeover culminated in 1973; when Richardson left HEW for his ill-fated tenure at the Justice Department, he was replaced by Caspar Weinberger, a long-time Reagan supporter from California who is reported to be a member of Reagan's shadowy Presidential task force. Among the many Reaganites also brought into HEW was Robert C. Carleson, chief architect of the Governor's welfare program. It was Carleson's appointment to HEW in 1973 that prompted California Assemblyman (now Congressman) John L. Burton to say "He's a man whose total lack of compassion for the dispossessed is surpassed only by his lack of intelligence."

Lack of compassion aptly describes the Reagan approach to welfare. Frustrated caseworkers have CWEP atrocity stories at their fingertips, which are amply supplemented by reports from the Auditor-General's office: an alcoholic woman put to work in a stockroom as a CWEP assignment, who soon fell from a ladder and fractured her skull; a 61-year-old Chicano who spoke no English, removed from

(Continued on page 49)

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Feast or Famine:

The Choices for Mankind

"Assume a 6 billion population in the year 2000, and also assume crop failures equivalent to those of 1972. One-third of the human race could be condemned to death by starvation."

In the simpler world of 60 years ago, every schoolchild learned the cube-square ratio as a biological limit. Why had the dinosaur vanished from the Earth? Because as it increased in bulk, acceleration of gravitational force upon it required that its skeletal mass increase cubically. Without such cubic increase (which it did not attain), the dinosaur, at some point of enlargement, would become—and became—incapable of locomotion, hence unable to forage. It, and all its kind, must die of hunger before it could reproduce.

True or false, the explanation was a delight to a perceptive child. It introduced a sense of law into the evolution of differentiated species; it provided an explanation of biological limits on the persistence and increase of saurians and mammals. But we are no longer children. The cube-square law does not now satisfy us. We have grown in sophistication to the point where, without denying outright the cube-square ratio, we can concede ignorance over the reasons for the vanishing of given species. The true explanation (if ever found) may be more complex than the cube-square law or even simpler than it. We just do not know. It is, indeed, possible that the cube-square law holds true. Nonetheless, it has been rejected. Or has it?

My question is no idle one. Informed men and women—not children—have transferred the cube-square law from the domain of natural selection to that of social analysis. Today they hypothesize that an equivalent of the cube-square law applies to mankind and its potential food supply. Increase in human population, they claim, is at a rate not only faster than the present rate of increase in world food resources, but faster than the *potential* rate of increase in food supplies under the most favorable of foreseeable conditions.

by Terence McCarthy

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Growth in global population, it is asserted by respected demographers, approximates 1.7 percent per annum, for a 55 percent increase by the year 2000. Dependable increase in food resources, others claim, does not exceed 1.2-1.4 percent per year, for a mean growth estimate of about 36 percent by the end of this century. This amounts to saying that world population by the year 2000 will approximate 6 billion people, of whom nearly 500 million will live at the sub-poverty level, while an additional 1.8 billion will live barely above the starvation level.

The 1.2-1.4 percent dependable increase in world food supply, however, is not assumed to be an uninterrupted function but an episodic one—a long-term trend with irregular, appreciable variations above and below the trend line. Population growth, on the other hand, is assumed to be a smooth curve with negligible variations around the trend.

What this means is that, unpredictably but perhaps frequently, with recurrence of crop failures on an extensive geographic scale (as occurred in 1972 in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, North Africa, India, the Republic of South Africa, Argentina, Australia, and Brazil), hundreds of millions of people at any time beyond the next quarter of a century could be forced down from bare subsistence to below it, hundreds of millions more from the margin above starvation into starvation itself.

As an exercise, not a prediction, assume a 6 billion population in the year 2000, and also assume crop failures equivalent in geographic scope to those of 1972. About 2 billion people could be condemned to death by starvation. One-third of the human race could be exterminated.

This is the risk—however improbable its occurrence—which the world must take or refuse to take if the extrapolations of concerned demographers are to be given credence. The prospect is so utterly beyond contemplation that the matter ceases altogether to be one of accepting or rejecting the projections. It transforms instantly into whether there are ways by which humanity *can* reject this hazard. If such ways exist, what changes and sacrifices must peoples and nations undergo—and which parts of mankind must undergo them—if this perdition is to be averted? How can the world deflect what Oliver Wendell Holmes, in a different context, described as "... an inevitable result of long incubating causes; inevitable as the cataclysms that sweep away the monstrous births of primeval nature." Shall mankind be numbered among these monstrous births? *Dare* we take the risk?

Personally, I doubt the demographers. I mistrust the population projections and I mistrust even more the dismal forecasts as to agricultural output. The statistical foundations of the argument are suspect. There is, however, a fundamental rule in risk taking (a rule discarded by the act of war) that no matter how miniscule the probability of a given measurable hazard, this risk must not be assumed if its materialization spells destruction of the person, the enterprise, the nation. This is the first law of prudence. Its application denies to me, and to society as a whole, the right to act in accordance with skepticism such as mine over the pessimistic projected trend of food-supply/population ratios. The risk to mankind associated with that possible error is unacceptable. We have no choice, therefore, but to act as though the disparate rates of growth in population and food supply were established facts in today's world.

"There is literally no need for deserts to exist anywhere on Earth if we decide otherwise — and if we are prepared to pay the price."

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[HARD QUESTIONS]

Questions at once arise involving the moral, political, and economic stance of peoples and nations. They fall into three categories, each one disturbing to our present conceptions. The first is whether the world at large has the moral right to suppress the ways of people whose social organization jeopardizes food resources. The second is whether we can find ways to increase the global food capacity to something reliably in excess of the expected growth rate of population. The third is whether, accepting the dire forecasts as working hypotheses, we can so transform the eating habits of mankind that we can obviate the need for a fourth question: namely, whether we deliberately restrain population growth to a rate below that of the claimed, dependable increases in global food resources.

There is, of course, another option for individual nations: to concentrate upon national needs and to let the rest of the world, or any parts of it, starve or feast as crops dictate. Substantially, this is what the world at first did to the peoples of the Sub-Sahara (the Sahel) in 1974. West Africa was in drought, a drought which in some areas was in its fifth year. Some 12 million people were threatened with mass starvation. The common estimate, with an unknowable margin of error, is that no fewer than 100,000 did die of starvation before belated relief programs became effective. Moreover, the cattle of nomadic and semi-nomadic herdsmen died for lack of forage, were killed and eaten by owners themselves facing death, or were sold to profiteers who owned flourishing pastureland. The effects of the drought will be felt by these peoples long after it has ended. Some seven million Africans in the Sahel are now dependent on foreign food aid. There is no readily apparent way for them to rebuild their herds and pastures; unlike their remaining cattle, they cannot survive by eating grass or stubble—when the grass returns, if it does.

The Sahel disaster embraced Niger, Mauritania, western Ethiopia, Upper Volta, Mali, Chad, and parts of Senegal, Kenya, Nigeria, and Dahomey. Essentially, it consisted of the southward spread of the Sahara at an accelerated rate, a spread which has been almost continuous since the victory of Ferdinand and Isabella in 1492 began the collapse of the irrigation-based civilization of North Africa. Before that "victory" the Sahara had been gradually narrowed in expanse, held in check, actually diminished and made fertile on its irrigated northern verges. The Spanish conquest destroyed the political and social structure which had subdued the Sahara.

The desert, in effect, now extends from the gates of Madrid and the sunburnt plains of New Castile and Estremadura southward to the Sudan—not, as in popular conception, as an unbroken stretch of undulating sand, but largely of rocky plateaus and vast stony, pebbled plains relieved by oases and occasional rivers and streams. But the sand is spreading, and the rate of its spread is accelerating, a fact that can be traced initially to the failure of mankind to undo the damage wrought by Spain in its defeat of the Moors.

[LESSONS OF THE SAHEL]

In this sense, incapacity of the world to provide adequate sustenance to all human beings born is not a function of the cube-square law, nor of any malign inevitability. It is a function of the actions of mankind, isolated from and even in contradiction to agricultural realities. In the Spanish conquest, political and religious concerns suppressed the human capacity to provide its needed sustenance. In the Sahel, something comparable to India's veneration of the cow built up—not a human population beyond nature's provision of sustenance, but a cattle population beyond the pastureage of specific localities. According to Nicholas Wade (*Science,* 7/19/74), the U.N. estimates that the number of cattle in the Sahel grew from 18 million to 25 million in the 11 years through 1971, overtaking pastures and crop lands. Simultaneously, at the urging of the French, fertile areas were devoted to the growth of cash crops (principally peanuts and cotton) for sale abroad, tending to drive non-cash subsistence farming to the margins of the desert.

This was a sustainable system only if rainfall was assured at its accustomed rate. But the rain failed, and continued to fail. The fertile areas might still have been enough to provide food at subsistence levels had the cattle count remained

Photographs by Alain Nogues/Sygma

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at 18 million, and had commercialization of farming in the most fertile areas been contingent on a measured increase in local means of subsistence, animal and human. Instead, the false pursuit of wealth—of numbers of cattle counted as wealth by the herdsmen, and of commercial crops exported for paper money counted as wealth by the Sahel governments—left 12 million people helpless when rains ceased.

Paradoxically, circumstances were in some ways worsened by the fact that advance preparation had been made for the eventuality of drought. Beneath the Sahel lie enormous reservoirs of geologic water, now tapped by thousands of boreholes. As Wade puts it, the effect "was simply to make pasture, instead of water, the limiting factor on cattle numbers," because, as thousands upon thousands of cattle were driven from the drying waterholes toward the wellheads, their enormous convergence destroyed the pastures in the vicinities of the wells, creating mini-deserts around the very wells which had been intended to drive the desert back.

In the Sahel, as in India—whose cattle total one-third of all those in the world—excessive growth of herds has caused people to starve. Does mankind in general, then, have the moral right, perhaps the obligation, to *compel* the local populace to reduce its herds so that humans can be assured of survival? If so, what forms of compulsion are justified? Who shall apply them and in what manner?

These are among the questions which mankind may be forced to raise—and answer—in the years ahead. Assume, for example, a massive crop failure in the United States, along with small reserves of grain, simultaneous with the recurrence of the Sahel disaster. Who, then, must starve? The Americans? The Africans? Who, for that matter, could more than 220 million Americans by relief programs, let alone 12 million Africans?

These questions must be answered now, immediately. We have seen in the Sahel that mere technical applications, in the form of water supply, are inadequate if social structures and manners are not attuned to technical necessities and possibilities. Yet the conclusion must not be drawn that the artificial increase in the Sahel's water resources was the cause of the disaster. The reality is that the Sahel's social forms, including the ascendancy of commercial over subsistence considerations in agriculture, negated the obvious values of increased but localized water supplies.

We must consider, therefore, that rapid introduction of modern technology—even in such simple forms as driven wells—may be necessarily injurious unless it is harmonized, in timing and intent, with collateral social change. If the matter is one of sustenance alone, increased water supply in the desert may recreate, in modern guise, the conflict of Cain and Abel. Shall the herdsmen ravage the field? Shall cattle crowd out men, as in India? Or shall the history of the American West be repeated elsewhere, with the dirt farmers inexorably encroaching on the open range? (It is an ancient tension, now recreated in the United States as well, though in a different way: with cattle penned in feeding lots, and much of the arable land devoted not to raising vegetable protein for direct human consumption, but to sustain the feedlot fatted calf and the excessively carnivorous diet it supports.)

[THE SAHARA WILL BLOOM]

Some 50 years past, scholars squabbled over whether the Sahara was spreading southward at a rate of five or ten miles per year. Today there is ominous talk of 30 miles per year. Demographers despair over this. Their despair expresses reluctance to raise—and answer—the most important questions, questions posed by the deserts themselves. The demographers dread the Sahara. I look upon it as one of mankind's great untapped resources.

The world possesses today the technical capacity not only to dam and regulate the flow of streams and rivers, and to drill to depths required to tap geologic deposits of water; but also to desalinate the seas and to transport water, via pipelines, from the seashores to any inland area that we choose. There is literally no need for deserts to exist anywhere on Earth if we decide otherwise—and if we are prepared to pay the price.

Technically, a desert is a region whose waters do not flow into the sea, the rate of evaporation outpacing that of rainfall. Yet if the Sahara is a desert because its waters do not flow to the sea, there is nothing but lack of will to prevent our making the sea, desalted, flow up into the desert. Estimated at some 3.5 million square miles, the Sahara is equal to the entire land mass of the United States. Of this vast area, some 900,000 square miles drain poorly to the Atlantic, to the Mediterranean, or the Niger Basin. The remainder, some 2.6 million square miles, drains inland. The 900,000 square miles would be easier to convert from desert to garden; the 2.6 million square miles are the one great challenge of today to human ingenuity and worthiness of purpose. Given the appropriate technological applications, accompanied by the necessary social and political transformations, mankind can now conquer the Sahara, extending immeasurably the world's food-producing capability.

In fact this transformation has begun, although far from on the scale that is required. News has been released in recent weeks of programs to desalt sea water in Iran, Iraq, Sudan, Morocco, Egypt and Libya, following the earlier lead of Israel, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Britain.

Desalting technologies known to us are of four types. The first is the osmotic process whereby, through successive filtration, sea water becomes sufficiently desalted to be easily vaporized. Osmosis, and reverse osmosis, have been demonstrated to be technically feasible in small-scale laboratory installations. Much remains to be done in this field which, assuming sufficient technological advance, could be the ultimate method of desalinization. However I have seen no evidence, as yet, that it could be adopted today on a gigantic scale.

The second method consists simply of heating sea water in pressure vessels at high temperatures, gathering the vapor, and mechanically removing chemical residues—either as waste, or for industrial use. The economics of large-scale use of this method depend on the thermal efficiency of the system; upon metallurgical developments that will increase the ability of boilers and retorts to withstand higher pres-

(Continued on page 59)

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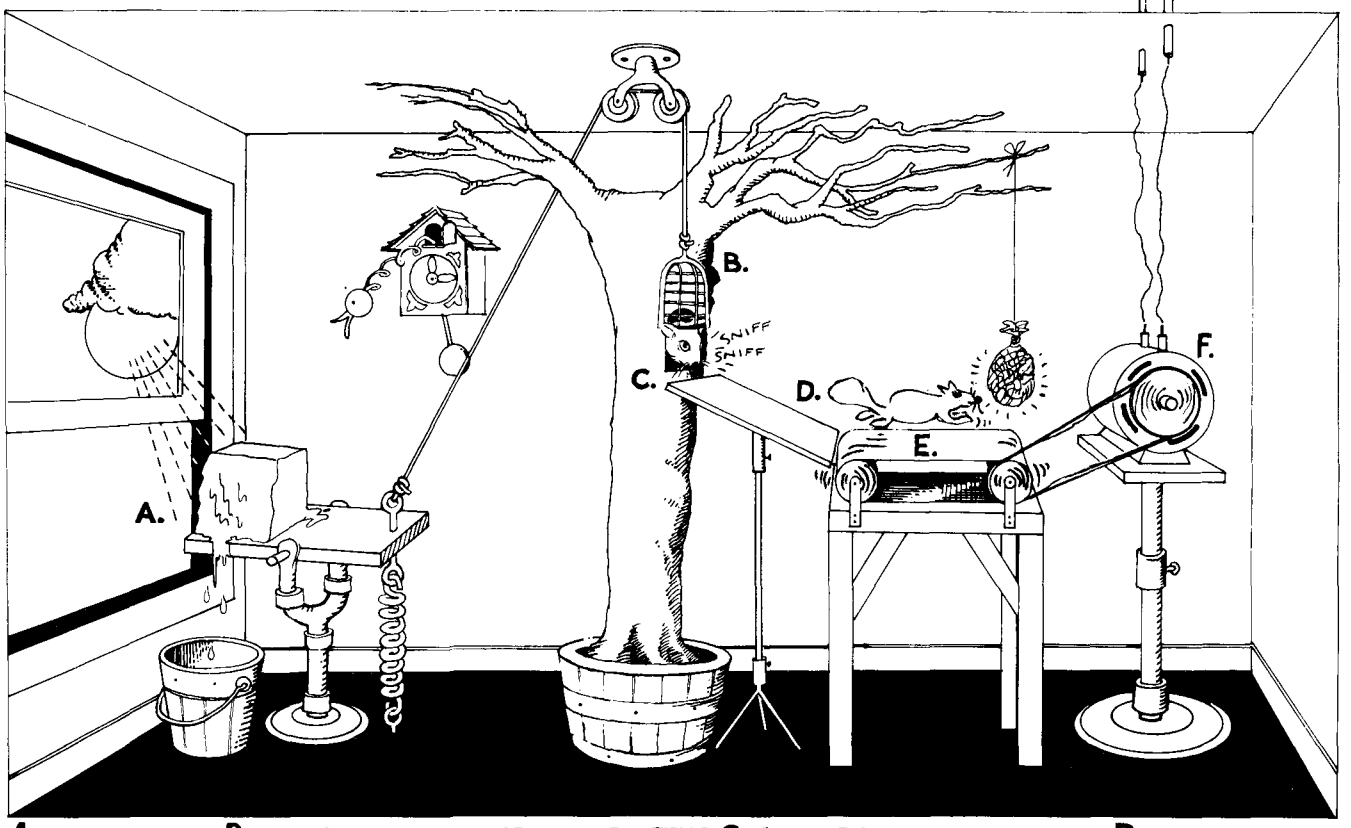
a subversive program for energy in america



A. SUN MELTS ICE. **B.** AS ICE MELTS DOWN TRAP DOOR OPENS. **C.** SQUIRREL SMELLS PEANUTS. **D.** RUNS DOWN ONTO TREDMILL TO GET PEANUTS. **E.** TREDMILL RUNS. **F.** BELT FROM TREDMILL TURNS ELECTRICAL GENERATOR

"I do not think most people will recognize this situation as a crisis until they go to a light switch, turn it on, and nothing happens," complained Thornton F. Bradshaw, President of Atlantic Richfield Oil, at a Congressional hearing not long ago. Bradshaw's complaint marks a major change in the role that energy related businesses assume in American life. The companies that for so long advertised themselves as harbingers of progress and the good life have metamorphosed into prophets of doom. The uncertain light switch has replaced the brightly-lit, appliance-crammed kitchen as the dominant theme of energy-related advertising. In short, promises have given way to threats.

The National Petroleum Council, the oil industry's "advisory panel" to the Department of Interior, describes in a major study on the "U.S. Energy Outlook" how failure to meet their projected increase of energy demand could result in an unemployment rate higher than that of the Great Depression. A recent electric power company advertisement picks up this theme, warning that any cut in planned expansion of electrical output would mean, "Less production, fewer jobs, lower demand for products, followed by still further diminished production and galloping unemployment until America is eventually reduced to the hard life." The ad admonishes, "It is going to take more—not less—energy merely to maintain our present standard of living."

We have become, so it would seem, a nation of energy addicts, having reached the point where anticipation of pleasure is replaced by terror of withdrawal as the main motive for continuous increases in consumption. This is the tone in which we are presented with 25-year projections that show a 250 percent increase in total energy demand—during a period in which population will grow a maximum of 25 to 50 percent.

In the next few months, Project Independence, the government's grand energy plan for the rest of the century, will be released. In the next few years, the future of energy consumption—and thereby a good part of the shape

by Tom Zeman

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GENERATE LESS ENERGY
Sure. And generate galloping unemployment!
American Electric Power Company, Inc.
You can no longer take for granted what you've always taken for granted.
To keep your electricity on tomorrow, we must build today. PG&E
Just about this time next year lots of people may be asking,
"What time is the electricity on today?"
American Electric Power System

"In the next few years, the future of energy consumption for the rest of the century will be decided. We have become, we are told, a nation of energy addicts. But despite the propaganda, energy is not an addiction but a means of doing work, and it is by no means impossible to explore what work needs to be done."

of things to come—will be decided. Most remaining national energy resources are on federally controlled land; the decision to restrict their use, or to begin massive leasing to the oil companies of energy-rich lands and waters, is probably the most important domestic question facing the country this decade. So it is crucial to look, first of all, at what the government and industry energy projections have in store for us, and then at whether we in fact need such massive doses of oil, coal, gas, electricity and nuclear power to sustain us through the rest of the century. For despite the propaganda, energy is not an addiction, but a means of doing work, and it is by no means impossible to explore what work needs to be done.

[EVER UPWARD]

Looking at the symmetrical upward sweep of an industry demand curve makes the growth of energy consumption seem an effortless process. In fact, it took a great deal of effort, deliberately increasing energy inefficiency in every sector of the economy, to bring energy demand up to where it is today, even from the already high level of 1950. Presumably it would take exponential increases in such efforts to continue similar growth in demand through the rest of the century. Fortunately our task is much easier—simply to suggest ways *not* to meet those excessive demand projections by examining where this burgeoning demand is scheduled to go.

A glance at an energy flow chart, like one prepared by the Atomic Energy Commission's Lawrence Radiation Laboratories (see illustration page 35), can be very revealing. For instance, the amount of energy going to waste—energy that is used for no purpose at all, good or bad—is growing more than twice as fast as the demand for useful energy. Between 1970 and 1985, the amount of energy usefully consumed will increase 40 percent (and this is assuming for the moment that energy generated to build bombers or to fly mostly empty commercial airplanes is useful). In the same period, the amount of waste energy released to the environment in the form of thermal pollution will rise by 97 percent, more than twice as fast as useful energy consumption. In 1970, the amount of energy wasted was still slightly under half of the total energy produced. By now the halfway point has been passed, and by 1985 almost 60 percent of energy production will be taken up by waste.

And incredibly enough, according to present projections, the rate of increase in waste will accelerate even faster after 1985. The reasons for the increase are:

1. Current projections call for no change—in fact a slight increase—in the inefficiency of energy use by the three main consuming sectors.

2. The transportation sector, which is by far the most inefficient of the three, is scheduled to grow much faster than the other two.

3. Most importantly, a much larger proportion of total

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energy consumption in the future will be in the form of electricity. And electricity production is tremendously inefficient. It requires around three BTUs of fuel input in an electrical generating plant to product one BTU of electrical energy. The other two BTUs are released into the environment–hence the staggering amount of cooling water required for planned electrical output. Another 25 percent of the remaining energy is lost in the transmission lines. By the year 2000, the amount of *waste* energy produced by electrical power plants alone is scheduled to be more than *all* the energy now consumed and wasted in the transportation and residential/commercial sectors combined. (It is because electrical generation must waste so much fuel that utilities are desperate to develop nuclear breeder reactors, despite the enormous safety hazards and costs involved.)

4. Many of the new energy techniques scheduled for development in the next quarter century will produce new inefficiencies. Coal gasification will provide a whole new field of energy waste. For every two BTUs of synthetic gas produced, three BTUs of coal energy must be used. Although gasification losses are not included in the 1985 flow chart, by 2000 the Interior Department predicts we will be wasting over two quadrillion BTUs through gasification–about half the useful energy needed by the entire U.S. transportation system in 1970.

But such figures give only the barest outline of the dimensions of needless and pointless uses of energy. In each of three main energy-consuming sectors of the economy–transportation, residential/commercial, and industrial uses–waste has developed systematically. In fact, at least half of the energy consumed yearly in the United States literally subsidizes waste, inefficiency and discomfort. A program to keep energy consumption at or below 1970 levels might be the best way to ensure a rise in real living standards by the end of the century. And with waste on such a vast scale, the possible remedies are considerable.

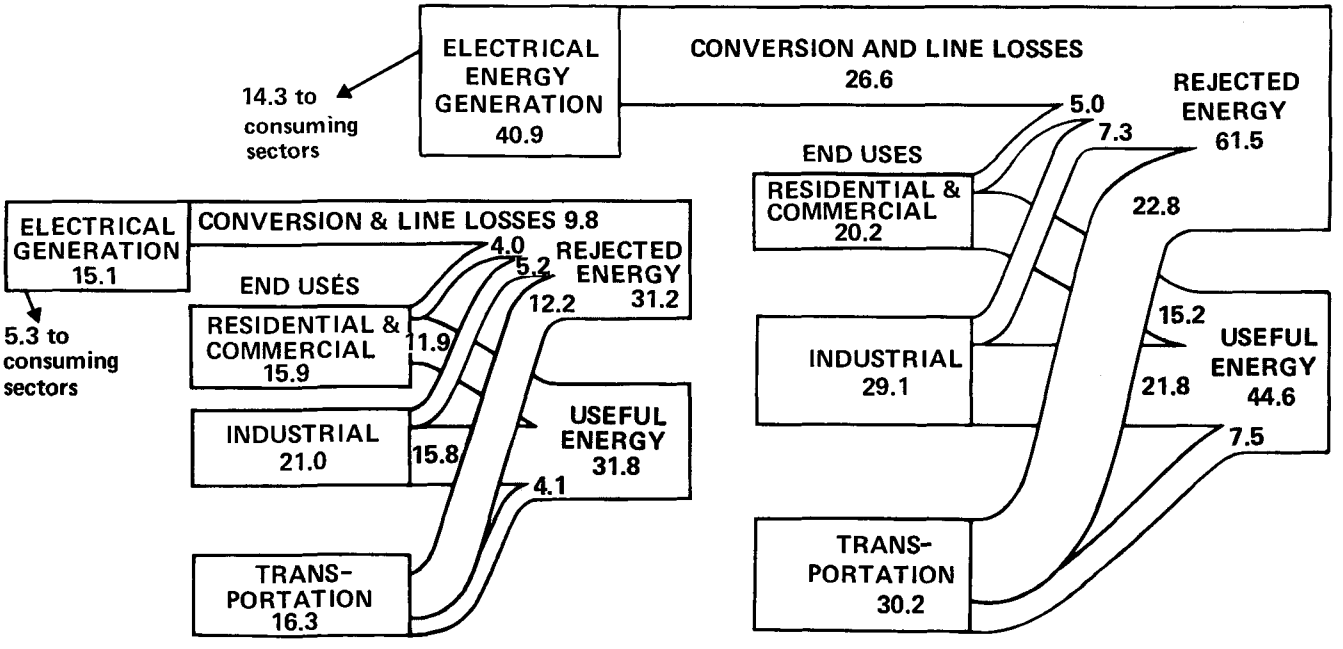
[ON THE ROAD]

Transportation is by far the least energy-efficient of the three sectors, thanks largely to dependence on the internal combustion engine; and it is the fastest growing sector of the three. Fortunately, this sector is also the simplest to repair. Much of the work consists of undoing the damage done in the last 20 or 30 years. Between 1950 and 1970, the nation moved away from a multi-mode transportation network that included railroad, bus, commuter train, trolley, airplane, and automobile, to a society dependent on two modes only. And, seemingly guided by some mystical lemming-like impulse, the two we gravitated towards–the airplane and the automobile–are by far the two most energy inefficient.

Of course this choice was hardly mystical. Over the past two decades, the federal government has created a huge multibillion-dollar national highway network, and spent billions on airports (although three-quarters of the traffic at these fields is private, non-commercial aircraft), and let the railway system (the last non-nationalized railway system on earth) languish. Even now, Amtrak is so poorly funded that *Fortune* magazine, hardly a muckraking journal, recently ran a long expose of the system's shoddy, under-funded service. As recently as 1970, oil companies spent millions to defeat mass transportation bond issues. And much of the damage had already been done before 1950. In the 1930s and 1940s, for instance, General Motors bought up and scrapped an entire commuter rail network in Los Angeles–the city that now is so famous for its freeways.

The general results of such policies are well known, but the magnitude of the damage is still surprising. Since 1950, commuter mass transit usage (electric railway, trolley, and bus) has declined by ten billion passenger rides per year–about 58 percent of their business. Railroads lost 180 million passengers–about 40 percent of their business. By

(Continued on page 55)



Atomic Energy Commission

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Giving Birth

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Childbirth is often the most meaningful and creative experience of a woman's life. Yet is is also physically painful and can be dangerous, both for mother and child, which is why most American women in the last half century have given birth in hospitals.

But today women are faced with a serious and sensitive dilemma. They recognize the safety of a hospital setting, but they also no longer choose to ignore its sterility, impersonality, and often inhumane professionalism. In fact, the pregnant woman feels the same disillusionment with the health care establishment as the rest of the public. People want the comfort, compassion, and emotional security of a home, as well as an assurance of expert treatment. They want to have choices about the medical care they receive, from the selection of a physician or a hospital to the kinds of pain-relieving drugs available and what their effects might be. In short, all these are issues, which are not so complicated as to be incomprehensible, but issues which women — and men — can question and understand.

The medical establishment is not unaware of the dilemma. Among other innovations, many physicians and hospitals now permit or encourage natural childbirth and family-centered maternity care. Many are dealing seriously with the psychology of their patients. But until the entire profession allows the patient to have real choices (including that of allowing the doctors to make the choice) one can only explore alternatives.

A pregnant woman should tour her local hospitals (if more than one is available) before deciding what kinds of options exist. She should know something about what happens on arrival at the hospital. For example, she should know that she will generally be treated as though ill, that she will probably be taken upstairs in a wheelchair. In delivery, as in any operating room, the table is narrow, odors medicinal and lights bright. Nurses may be supportive or their attitudes may be cool. If a woman persistently explores the avenues open to her, she is more likely to create the possibility for a safe and fulfilling childbirth experience.

[GETTING READY]

"If you ask Swedish doctors why they think Sweden has a lower infant mortality rate than the U.S., they begin with the statement that more than 90% of pregnant women in Sweden pay their first visit to their physician during the first three months of pregnancy."

--David Rutstein
The Coming Revolution in Medicine

The most important element of prenatal care is gaining a clear knowledge of the facts a woman should consider when selecting a physician or a hospital. That means a woman must ask the right questions. Is the OB-gyn primarily interested in gynecology rather than obstetrics? A General Practitioner who is interested in obstetrics may actually provide better care. How many babies does he deliver per year? A good load is about 200. A woman should not be afraid to obtain a second or third opinion and, if a physician resents this, he or she is not the type of understanding human being a pregnant woman needs. Is the physician in a group practice? For some women, this may provide security in case the doctor is away at the time of delivery. Does he show compassion and answer questions fully? Is he aware of new techniques such as natural childbirth? Many women reported going through months of hard work getting ready for natural childbirth only to be knocked out at the last minute because the physician reneged on his promise not to use anesthesia. Also essential to know are the policies of the hospital with which the physician is connected. Says Kerry Mazzone, president of the Childbirth Education Association in San Francisco, "Women don't chose their OB's carefully. It's usually word of mouth. If he's nice and talks smoothly they think he's fantastic and as soon as she's in labor, despite any agreement, he numbs her from the waist down."

Generally the more flexible physicians will be associated with the more flexible institutions. Some women may want to choose the hospital first. Are its policies flexible? Is the atmosphere at all compassionate? Are stillbirth and abortion cases placed in the same room with normal mothers? Are nurses supportive? A 1967 national study of the American College of Obstetrics & Gynecology found that most deficiencies in maternal care were associated with small hospital size, few deliveries per year (to 500), and a lack of teaching affiliations: 25 percent of hospitals required over 40 minutes to prepare for an emergency Caesarean section; 43 percent couldn't administer blood within less than 30 minutes notice; and 30 percent required more than four hours to prepare for a transfusion.

If a woman is considered to be a high-risk pregnancy, she should be aware of hospitals with advanced technology, such as intensive care units, laboratory facilities, supportive services, follow-up clinics, and personnel. In the most ideal situations, the woman has established rapport with her physician from the family planning stages — often the case with middle-class mothers, 9/10 of which are not high risk.

In sum, both the physician and the hospital should expound a philosophical and medical flexibility, taking the form of an honest explanation of options, as well as complete respect for *her* choices. Unfortunately for most women the birth experience itself becomes the sole test of this honesty.

THE POOR: REVERSE SELECTION

For women with low educational and income levels, or who live in rural areas without access to selection of an obstetrician or hospital, there are currently no extensive prenatal programs. Ideally there should be an attempt to recruit pregnant women, provide transportation to clinics or hospitals, or send medical teams to their homes as is done in countries such as China, the USSR, Sweden, Denmark or Czechoslovakia. Many clinics affiliated with urban teaching hospitals are so poorly funded that outreach workers are overloaded with follow-up care alone.

Suzanne Armes/Jeroboam

by Melissa Sones

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In rural areas a few small programs exist such as the Frontier Nursing Service, the first of its kind in the U.S., which was initiated in 1929 as a privately-funded non-profit mobile unit to meet the needs of mothers and babies in the Kentucky mountains. The staff are primarily nurse-midwives trained either abroad, in missions, or in its own graduate school of nursing and midwifery. Nurses travel by jeep within a five-mile radius: first prenatal checkups are given at clinics, while the final ones occur in the woman's home, and all babies are delivered in hospitals. The fee is minimal and includes a layette if paid in advance.

Currently the most extensive and advanced model of regional perinatal care in the United States is in Wisconsin, pioneered in 1968 by Dr. Stanley Graven, Professor of Pediatrics at the University of Wisconsin Medical School. Seven centers have now been established so that 90% of Wisconsin's population is within a hour's drive of a center. The newborn mortality rate among Milwaukee's low-income population has now been halved. Rural areas have also experienced dramatic drops. The newly formed Great Plains Organization for Perinatal Care now plans 17 future centers to be developed in the area. But generally there are too few adequate, funded prenatal projects.

NATURAL CHILDBIRTH

Natural childbirth, considered somewhat of a fad in the 1960s, has now become popular and even political. The past five years have seen a major change in attitudes of obstetricians, largely as a result of the demands of the women's movement and a shift toward a more natural style of life in American society. The term "natural childbirth" was coined by Dr. Grantly Dick-Read in 1933, in his book *Childbirth Without Fear*. Read believed that pain was psychologically oriented and a consequence of centuries of biblical misrepresentation, and therefore fear and muscular tension, the primary sources of pain in childbirth, could be eliminated by demystifying the birth process. He replaced the term "uterine pain" with "uterine contraction" and advocated the presence of the father in the delivery room and exercises such as painting during labor contractions to relax vaginal, skeletal and perineal muscles.

The Lamaze method is one of pain relief by conditional reflex based on the work of the Russian scientist Pavlov. The "psychoprophylactic method," as it is called, was first observed by Fernand Lamaze, a French obstetrician, at a gynecological conference in Paris in 1952. After a trip to Russia to further study the techniques, Lamaze modified the Russian method, adding a rapid accelerated breathing technique and established a very successful program in France known as Childbirth without Pain.

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Photographs by Ed Baker and Rick Bennis

[LABOR AND DELIVERY]

"I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and the conception; in sorrow thou shalt bring forth children."

"Curse of Eve" Genesis 3:16

Until the middle of the 19th century the pain of childbirth was indisputable and even sanctified. But, with the introduction of chloroform, and later "twilight sleep" with a combination of morphine and scopolamine, an era of drug use was launched. While many of the drugs have indeed helped to alleviate pain, many have been found to be dangerous and women are resisting their indiscriminate use. Each option should be carefully considered.

LABOR PAIN

Tranquilizers – the mildest medication, which tends to relax tension and produce drowsiness. Examples are Librium, Valium, Equanil, and Miltown.

Barbiturates – can be harmful to the baby and slow down breathing and reactions of both mother and child. Examples are Seconal and Nembutal.

More important than the relaxation and breathing techniques for the practice of childbirth in this country is his revolutionary philosophy. It is a psychological, rather than medical, form of pain relief, for it emphasizes the strength of a woman emotionally and intellectually for childbirth. Its three primary concepts are: 1) complete understanding of the processes of labor and birth in order to alleviate fear and tension; 2) muscular relaxation to easy delivery; 3) a conditioning process by which pain is displaced from a central to peripheral location in a woman's consciousness by substituting another center of concentration. The new center is the body function of breathing.

Morphine and Scopolamine – these are given hypodermically, inducing what is known as "twilight sleep". The mother awakens after her child is born and has no recollection of the beauty of giving birth. Morphine, an analgesic, deadens pain and creates an overpowering urge to sleep when given in large enough quantities. Scopolamine, an amnesic and hallucinogen, erases all memory. If given too soon, these can stop labor completely. If given too late, the child's respiratory center can be affected and he/she can die of asphyxia. Today, the most popular drug for relief of labor pain is a combination of Demoral (a synthetic morphine-like compound) and scopolamine.

BIRTH PAIN

General anesthesia (or inhalation anesthesia) — These drugs affect the entire body, producing a state of total unconsciousness. The woman feels nothing, emotionally or physically, cannot push or see her child born. It takes effect immediately. Some general

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Childbirth: A Feminist View

"I was in labor for 15 hours, while your father went to the office. I was totally knocked out the whole time. The first thing I asked when I came to was, What did I have? then, Is she healthy? and then, Can I see her? I walked down the hall and watched you howling in your bassinet behind a glass wall. I stayed in the hospital for eight days and fed you your bottle twice a day. On the way home from the hospital, your father dropped your formula on the sidewalk. I wasn't quite sure we were going to make it."

—my mother, about my birth in a private New York City hospital, 1950

Until very recently, most American mothers, including my own, accepted a standard, hospital childbirth as their biological destiny. They were grateful for the anaesthesia which eliminated the pain their own mothers suffered in childbirth writhing in agony on the kitchen table. They were relieved that all the latest equipment would save their newborns from danger. They were glad that their husbands were spared the discomforts of their labor and delivery. And they were forever indebted to the obstetricians who skillfully guided them through the mysteries of pregnancy and proudly brought their sons and daughters screaming into the light of day.

For several years now, spurred by the energy of the burgeoning women's health movement, with its emphasis on options and the woman's right to control her own body, health activists and consumers around the country have been questioning the American way of childbirth. Not oblivious to the medical advances of the past century, they have nevertheless refused to accept what is too often a trade-off between safe, doctor-controlled childbirth and humane, mother- and family-centered maternity care.

Thus they have challenged standard hospital procedure and worked to change it for the benefit of the whole family unit. In addition, they have sought viable alternatives to hospital births: home births, regional birth clinics, maternity homes. Each of these alternatives benefits the members of the new family in various ways; none is entirely without risks. The availability of these options to all expectant mothers, rather than the advocacy of one method over another, is crucial to the program for change. This choice—plus control over her environment and the procedure of her birth; maximum safety for herself and her newborn; and the integration of the birth experience into her own and her family's life—at least, say maternity care reformers, should be the expectant mother's rights.

Although the last half century has unarguably seen a significant improvement in infant survival, feminist critics argue that simultaneous exclusion of women healers, especially midwives, from the American childbirth establishment has alienated the mother from the person delivering her baby and has gradually dehumanized childbirth. In 1910, about 50 percent of all babies were delivered by midwives, most of whom were blacks or working-class immigrants. But as Barbara Ehrenreich and Deirdre English point out in their monograph *Witches, Midwives and Nurses,* this was "an intolerable situation to the newly emerging obstetrical specialty." Not only was every poor woman delivered by a midwife one less source of obstetrical "teaching material," but these women were spending an estimated $5 million a year on midwives—fees which could otherwise have been going to "professionals."

Thus, in the name of science and reform, American obstetricians launched their attack on midwives, ridiculing them as "hopelessly dirty, ignorant and incompetent." Midwives were held accountable for the prevalence of uterine infections and neonatal blindness due to parental infection from gonorrhea, two conditions easily preventable by techniques "well within the grasp of the least literate midwife": hand-washing to prevent the former, eye-drops, the latter.

According to *Witches, Midwives and Nurses,* not only were American obstetricians themselves careless about infections and neonatal blindness, but "they also tended to be too ready to use surgical techniques which endangered mother or child." Nevertheless, the doctors, not the midwives, had the power. Under intense pressure from the medical profession, state after state passed laws outlawing midwifery and sealing the doctor's monopoly on obstetrical practice. Since 97 percent of all ob-gyns in this country are men, the once intensely woman-centered experience of childbirth became male-dominated and male-controlled.

* * *

"I kept going to the clinic with labor pains, and they kept sending me home. The baby was a month overdue. When I finally began having contractions with terrible pain, they told me, 'Stop screaming. Your time isn't here yet.' Finally, a doctor who had trained in Europe saw me and said, 'Oh My God! This woman is going to die. It's a breech birth!' He took me to the delivery room, strapped me down, and the nurses began pressing on my stomach to induce labor. The doctor did an episiotomy all the way to my rectum, which was painful and later became infected. The baby was manipulated and pulled out. It was the most gruesome, bloody and horrible experience of my life. Two years later I had to have a hysterectomy because of it."

—a Chicano mother about the birth of her second child in Pensacola, Florida, 1956

"I was turned off to the whole hospital thing, but I went on the recommendation of a friend and because it was cheap. You saw so many different doctors, and the whole thing was very impersonal. I didn't know anything, and I believed the doctors knew everything. I didn't want any medication,

by Elizabeth Fishel

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but just when the baby was crowning, the doctor stood in my line of vision, zapped me with anaesthesia and gave me an episiotomy. I really resented that. Then they took 45 minutes to sew me up. The way the hospital treats the husband is, 'Listen, mister. You're lucky we're letting you be here. So be quiet and don't make any trouble.' He could be kicked out while his woman is in pain, and believe me, he feels very deeply at the time."

—the 19-year-old daughter of the mother quoted above, about the birth of her first child at a San Francisco teaching hospital, 1967

Over the years, most women who experienced a terrifying, humiliating or alienating childbirth considered it a fluke rather than a grim reality of the American maternity care system. But with the emphasis of the Women's Movement on sharing experiences and challenging the status quo in consciousness raising, rap groups and books like the Boston Women's Health Collective's *Our Bodies, Ourselves,* many women have begun to realize that the disturbing idiosyncracies of their individual childbirths are actually built into the system and virtually unavoidable.

Intense professional hostility to the pregnant woman or a grossly butchered delivery may be seen as exaggerations of situations endemic to much hospital maternity care: the obstetrician who slights a mother's questions throughout her term, even lying to her about procedures; the hospital administrator who considers childbirth a disease that requires as long and costly an incarceration as possible; the nurse who humiliates the woman for experiencing pain or forces anaesthesia on her when she's doing fine without it.

It is of course true that, compared with her pregnant Third World sisters, the white, middle-class woman will be able to afford and have easier access to more expensive pre-natal care and a healthier diet throughout pregnancy, a better chance to choose her own obstetrician and develop a rapport with him, and slightly more comfortable and private hospital accommodations.

Nevertheless, regardless of age, race or economic background, the American mother can count on experiencing a series of indignities routine to hospital procedure. Hassled by bureaucratic red tape on arrival at the hospital; pushed in a wheelchair like an invalid to the labor room; given a painful enema during uterine contractions; unpleasantly shaved around the pubic area; forced into the uncomfortable "lithotomy position (flat on her back, legs in cold, metal stirrups); often drugged to keep her quiet even if she would prefer to remain awake; and finally, her newborn, the result of all her labors, shown to her from a distance—her participation in her own birth experience is sacrificed at every stage to the doctor's convenience.

* * *

"The only natural thing is that a woman's body is biologically equipped to bear and give birth to children . . . . It is natural for us to want to know what is happening to our bodies during labor."

—Ruth Davidson Bell, *Our Bodies, Ourselves*

For most of this century, as Constance Bean points out in *Methods of Childbirth,* the public has been isolated from knowledge about childbirth and from the issues involved in maternity care, even though everyone's life is somehow affected by the way in which childbirth is handled. The public has not felt entitled to know or cared to know, because childbirth has been considered too painful, too medical and too unpleasant to think about. However, with the introduction of "prepared childbirth" classes in this country over the past fifteen years, many people have gradually begun to gain knowledge about what happens to their bodies, minds and lives throughout the childbirth experience. Expectant mothers and fathers have begun to learn to share the experience together as a beginning to sharing the responsibilities and joys of being parents. With its emphasis on being undrugged, awake and aware, prepared childbirth has become a natural first step in feminist consciousness-raising about childbirth.

For a prepared mother, childbirth becomes symbolic not of her passivity and confusion, but of her strength and powerful creativity. Unlike a hysterectomy or a brain tumor, the birth of her child is not a disease, requiring total dependence on medical expertise. Acknowledging this expertise when she needs it, the prepared mother's sensitivity to her own physiological processes, and her knowledge of her own pain threshold and the extent of her physical capabilities, will keep her in charge of her childbirth, attuned both to her strength and her need for medical attention.

Along with prepared childbirth classes, also crucial to consciousness-raising is gaining awareness of what birth option best suits the needs of the pregnant mother and her new family. To help with this choice, women in the San Francisco Bay Area, for example, may choose among a rap group for pregnant women sponsored by the University of California Child Care Division; workshops in the cycle of childbirth run by the Florence Nightingale Birth Collective, a group of nurses, midwives and feminist activists; and videotapes of births and post-natal care prepared by the Commune Health Education Project, a traveling medicine show developed at the U.C. Medical Center. All emphasize thorough, advance consideration of childbirth, for as one activist puts it, "eight centimeters is not the time to fight."

Learning to know and ask for what she wants from hospitals and labor attendants, understanding her rights as a hospital patient (especially her right to refuse a procedure), choosing what to fight for and when to compromise, possibly selecting a "patient advocate"—either mate or friend—to represent her during her birth: these are the minimal tools the pregnant mother should acquire during the nine months before her delivery.

The most radical and far-reaching changes in hospital maternity care, however, have resulted from intense struggle around the institutions themselves and the laws which control them. One notable innovation in hospital care, for instance, has been the institutionalization of "family-centered maternity care," which permits the parents to share the childbearing experience, and to have access to their baby during the immediate post-partum period to the extent they desire; to leave the hospital within 12 hours after birth; and be followed up at home by a nurse practitioner.

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To make one aspect of this practice a law, a bill (H.R. 1504) introduced by Congresswoman Martha Griffiths is now pending before Congress which states:

> Whereas it is the natural human right of a woman to determine the manner of her child's birth; Whereas the participation of the father in the childbirth process undermines rigid, traditional sex roles from the beginning; Whereas it is a sexist notion that childbirth is "women's work"; it is rather a family affair . . . ; Whereas there does exist a double-standard in American medicine prejudicial against women: Be it resolved . . . to provide for hospitals to allow the biological father to attend the birth of his child if the woman consents.

Potentially more significant is the struggle to legalize the practice of nurse-midwifery. This nursing specialty, introduced in 1931 by the Maternity Center Association in New York City and now taught in more than ten programs around the country, prepares an already licensed nurse with the additional skills to provide prenatal, intrapartum and postpartum care for normal women under the supervision of a qualified physician.

The nurse-midwife is often able to build a rapport with the mother throughout her pregnancy that benefits her both psychologically and medically. "Mothers express feelings to us that they wouldn't share with male authorities," explains one nurse-midwife. Comments Dr. Kenneth E. Pell, director of ob-gyn allied health training for the Southern California Permanente Medical Group, "Patient satisfaction with this new type of allied health personnel has been extremely gratifying. In a series of three hundred consecutive postpartum patients who saw nurse-practitioners prenatally, 85 percent felt that with the addition of nurse-practitioners their antepartum care was improved. Only one percent felt that their visits were not instructive."

Impressive medical data was added by a three-year study (1957-1960) of the effect of nurse-midwives on maternity care in a rural county hospital in Madera, California. Comparison of statistics before the project started indicated that during its course more women received prenatal care, which began earlier in pregnancy and increased in frequency and regularity of visits. With nurse-midwives conducting 78 percent of all deliveries, prematurity declined from 11 to 6.4 percent, and neonatal deaths from 23.9 to 10.3 per 1000 live births.

Yet despite statistics like these, support from the American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists, and the favorable response from their patients, the 100 or more certified nurse-midwives in the country are still not allowed to practice in all 50 states. In California, for instance, nurse-midwives have not been licensed to practice since 1949 (by no coincidence the same year that ob-gyn became a specialty). Efforts to legalize the practice of nurse-midwifery have met with continual resistance from the California Medical Association, and the State Board of Medical Examiners, even though, as nurse-midwife Rosemary Mann points out, "Our objective is not to be in competition with the medical establishment but to provide healthy care."

But too often the reality of the American maternity care system is a vicious cycle of hostility, suspicion and competition: obstetricians who doubt anyone's competence but their own and are economically threatened by paramedical assistance; nurses who resent nurse-midwives becoming junior physicians; nurse-midwives who scorn lay midwives' ignorance; and lay-midwives who disapprove of obstetricians but fear their dismissal of midwifery in case of emergencies.

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Needless to add, the mother becomes but a pregnant pawn in the game of obstetrical ego-tripping and vested interest.

* * *

"I planned to have my baby in the hospital, but when I heard the Birth Center got busted, I was politically outraged. I talked to lots of people who had babies at home, and it seemed easy. So when my contractions began at 3:30 a.m. about a month before the baby was expected, I took a walk on the wharf with my old man and decided to have the baby at home (which was twice the size of a double-bed.) I did some meditation during labor, and the contractions felt like waves which you could either ride or be inundated by. My old man put a salmon on the barbecue and two girl friends came over. The midwife was there the whole time and gave me things before I even asked for them. Ivan was born at 8:23, a triple Gemini. He came out blue and weak, so I waited to claim him until I knew he was all right. We called an ambulance for back-up, but he got better care at home.

—a young mother about the home-birth of her first child in Santa Cruz, 1974

"As the head was completing its birth I saw that it was anterior, but was confused at the shape of this baby's skull. No color change in baby's head. No sign of life. Marty looking at baby from afar—no talking to him or touching him. Very quiet room. We all experience death. We continue to try giving life—I resuscitating, Jodi massaging baby's feet. We put baby in pot of cold water. No response to anything.

I called up a doctor friend to come give Marty stitches [for her episiotomy]. The stillbirth gave him fear and he could not come. I called up all the hospitals trying to find a doctor who would be understanding and gentle in these special moments.

We talk of death as part of birth. Marty says she was well prepared for this possibility. She feels her birth was beautiful and natural. Great sorrow is felt in the death but also a great acceptance."

—an attending midwife about a stillborn home-birth, in Santa Cruz, 1971 (from *The Birth Book*)

"Today we are attempting to bring childbirth back to nature wherever possible," writes midwife Jodi Frediani in the Santa Cruz Birth Center's *Birth Book*. "Women are learning to listen once more to their long-buried instinctive selves." With its sense of territoriality at once primitive and feminist, this urge to go back to nature is at the root of the home-birth revival sweeping like a stork through the California counterculture. From the midwife who explains, "I assume it's a physiological process that's going to fulfill itself" to the mother who likens her contractions to waves and her birth to an orgasm, to the father who "oms real loud into his newborn's face to calm him right out"—advocates of home birth have a faith in nature that can be inspirational, reassuring—and occasionally catastrophic.

Listening to the mother and midwife quoted above, I was overwhelmed by their sense of mysticism verging on cosmic chutzpah, that whatever was meant to be will be, that medical intervention will only interrupt the karmic flow. I was reminded of Marion Zimmer Bradley's bitter observation in

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The Last Whole Earth Catalog, "Sure, having a baby is natural. So is dying in childbirth. Look in any medieval graveyard. Most men went through a few wives that way."

Still, the aesthetics of home birth for the natural woman are, of course, irreproachable. Is there really any choice between the impersonality and sterility of the hospital trip and all the comforts of home—a familiar bed, plants and decorations; ready food and drink; not to mention the loving attentions of mate, family, friends; and a couple of midwives, skilled but never authoritarian? And who wouldn't thrill to be encouraged to experience (as one midwife describes it) "the excitement and build-up of labor . . . emotionally akin to that of making love [with] the sensations of the emerging infant culminating in birth . . . a true climax." And who wouldn't rather see the newborn "held and said 'yes' to," as one midwife put it, than shunted away in a plastic box?

Nevertheless, as Marin County midwife Helen Swallow points out on a videotape used to teach about home birth, "It's not as safe having a baby at home, and it's not wise to pretend that it is so." Dr. Thomas Elmendorf, immediate past president of the California Medical Association, is even more emphatic on this point. "We're aware that normal childbirths can be performed without problems," he said in a recent newspaper interview, "and that taxi drivers, policemen and husbands can help in the delivery. But the trouble is that too often you don't know you're going to have a problem until you're into the problem itself. And then it's too late." Pre-natal screening can usually discourage the obviously risky cases from home-births (diabetes and severe anemia, for instance; history of prematurity, prolonged or difficult labor, fetal losses; multiple births or unusual position of fetus). Still, 60 to 80 percent of maternal and infant complications arise during labor with no pre-natal warning, and most of these just cannot be coped with at home.

Since the Santa Cruz Birth Center got underway in 1971, any emergency hospital back-up for home deliveries has been tenuous and will continue to be problematic as long as the local medical establishment remains blindly hostile to the home birth movement. In March, after a year and a half investigation by the State Board of Medical Examiners, two of the midwives were lured to a phony birth by a pregnant undercover agent, and arrested. A third midwife was also arrested in the house that serves as the Birth Center office, and the three were charged with a violation of the state business and professions code, "practicing medicine without a license." The case is still stymied in legal technicalities, and attorneys for the defense are fairly confident that "the DA will give up because the law is so vague." Meanwhile, midwives are still busy "catching babies," and the local medical establishment is no more supportive than it ever was.

"Midwifery is a reality both on the lay and professional levels," Rosemary Mann points out about the predicament in Santa Cruz. "We should talk about laws in terms of protecting the public and think about establishing standards rather than ignoring the problem." Even the lay midwives agree that they would like to be certified or at least sanctioned in order to have "access to the technological tools." Not the least of these should be immediate access to emergency care services. In England, for instance, where home deliveries are common, well-equipped mobile vans can arrive at a home within minutes with all the equipment and medical personnel to handle any childbirth emergency. A dream of the Florence Nightingale Birth Collective is to coordinate all the birth activity in the Bay Area and write up a grant to fund such a birthmobile for Berkeley—equipped perhaps with such things as incubators, monitors and resuscitators, a minilaboratory, treatment fluids and medications, full facilities for massive blood transfusions or minor surgery, and staffed by doctors, nurses and midwives experienced in infant rescue techniques. A doctor associated with the Nightingale Collective estimates a mobile like this could easily cost $1 million.

* * *

"During my first pregnancy, I had a dream I had my baby in France. For the birth of our second child, my husband and I were in France, so we looked up Dr. Pierre Vellay [a disciple of Lamaze]. His nurse, who had trained with Lamaze herself, taught childbirth classes in his office and performed part of the delivery. Before the baby was expected, I went to see the Clinic, which looked like a chateau, and reserved a room, as at a resort. Ron stayed for the whole labor and birth and could visit any time during my week's stay. It was so nice there that you would feel gauche having any kind of pain, so you don't.

—An American woman about the birth of her second child at the Clinic Belvedere, a maternity home in Paris

The maternity home is an alternative to the strict choice between home versus hospital birth which could provide a creative solution to the childbirth dilemma in this country. Combining both the friendly, warm atmosphere of the home with the safety and expertise of the hospital (plus maximum control by the mother of her birth experience), the maternity home could be set up as a community health center offering information and services for every phase of the pregnancy, from prenatal care, nutritional and family counseling through delivery and extensive post partum follow-up. Run by and for women, with midwives providing the bulk of the care, the birth center would charge on a low sliding-scale.

In a country where, year after year, defense is the overwhelming federal budget priority, safe and fulfilling maternity care is relegated to the position of weak sister. Hot on the pursuit of nerve gas and laser bombs, what technocrat wants to trouble himself with the effects of birth shock on the newborn baby, or on massage techniques to replace episiotomies? Or could it be a fear even more deeply rooted of the woman liberated from the Biblical curse: to bring forth her children in sorrow and be ruled over by her husband?

For suppose the American woman were to feel proud throughout her pregnancy, capable and dignified during delivery, joyful post-partum, and confident in raising her child—just imagine what power she would have then.

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Pablo Neruda:

"Out of his great silence"

by Fernando Alegria

All over Latin America, people are talking about Solzhenitsyn's *Gulag Archipelago,* although they rarely read it. Meanwhile, they devour Pablo Neruda's *Memorias,* the Chilean poet's posthumous memoirs. Both works represent a task completed—a witness born by two giants of political literature. Yet, surprisingly, Neruda never really considered himself a political poet.

Once, when a Canadian journalist asked him about the pitfalls of the political poems in his *Canto General,* Neruda replied, "I haven't written more than a hundred lines of political verse in my whole life." He said this in all seriousness, without further explanation. I looked at him with a start, thinking of the numerous political allusions he had made—not just in *Canto General,* but also in such works as *Las Uvas y El Viento* and *Las Odas Elementales.* I think what Neruda was trying to convey to the journalist was that his literature wasn't political in the sense that Solzhenitsyn's *Gulag* is.

When Neruda wrote *España en el Corazón* he didn't just present an ideological statement or a forthright, partisan commentary; he also explored in depth a period of crisis in his own life which had a fundamental influence on his entire poetic conception. He attacks the fascist crimes of 1936 and Franco's military regime, but that is not his end: he transcends it with a vision, which I regard as unique, of a socialist utopia. Neruda refers to this period of crisis:

> I hoped to bring greater commitment and strength to my literary work. My exposure to Spain had left me stronger and more mature. It was time to leave the bitter poems behind. The melancholy subjectivity of my *Viente Poemas de Amor* and the mournful pathos of *Residencia en la Tierra* were at an end. It seemed to me as if I had struck a vein, not buried beneath rock but between the pages of books. Was it possible for poetry to serve our fellows? Was it part of humanity's struggles? I had already done enough exploring of irrational and negative byways. I had to stop, to seek out the path of humanism, overgrown in modern literature but nevertheless deeply rooted in mankind's aspirations. I began work on my *Canto General.*
>
> (*Memorias,* p. 190)

Here is the key to why Neruda represented better than any of his contemporaries the poet as a political being—a prophetic visionary and, at the same time, a fighting militant. This kind of poet is traditional in Latin American history: the poet as Minister, as Ambassador, as President; the poet who doesn't aspire just to be reflected in his country's history books as a passive footnote, but who seeks to *make* history, to give voice to popular movements and actively participate in the shaping of events. Rubén Darío threw himself fearlessly and with patriotic eloquence into the struggle against Teddy Roosevelt and his Manifest Des-

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tiny in Central America and Panama. At the turn of the century, José Manuel Balmaceda, the President of Chile, was surrounded by poets, who served him as Ministers in the toughest moments of his fight against British imperialism.

Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, President of Argentina; Bartolomé Mitre, another President of Argentina; Juan José Arévalo, President of Guatemala; Rómulo Gallegos, President of Venezuela; and Juan Bosch, President of the Dominican Republic—all were nationalist fighters and poets, either in prose or in verse. The last three—Arévalo, Gallegos, and Bosch—were overthrown by military coups, masterminded from the U.S.A.

Pablo Neruda was the Communist Party candidate for the Presidency of Chile in 1970. He withdrew to be part of the united front backing Salvador Allende, but before that he campaigned with the same vigor he had brought to the anti-fascist struggles of the 1930s, and to his opposition to the rule of Gonzalez Videla in the 1940s. There is a particular style which distinguishes Neruda from other poet-fighters, and which comes out in his memoirs. He was a warrior in the magical tradition of the Yaki Indians of Northern Mexico, a man perpetually at war with the powerful enemies of life, always seeking to make sense out of the dark violence of men, animals, and things. A warrior with tremendous presence and of forthright words and actions.

* * *

I don't know if the reader should try to draw lessons from Neruda's *Memorias* or not. The book's publication was eagerly awaited, and Losada's editions, printed in Spain and Argentina, both have sold out. Most people expected an aggressive book, overtly political, a chronicle of the pains and furies during the months preceding Neruda's death in 1973. But this is not the case.

When the coup came in September 1973, Neruda was gravely ill with cancer; his personal physician thought he had only a few months to live. Neruda knew the truth about his illness, but he never referred to it except indirectly, in metaphors or with wry ambivalence, to those who gathered around him with long faces. Among friends he referred to the cobalt as the sun, and, thinking that death was coming closer and closer, lap by lap in the midst of the harsh Chilean winter, he discerned the rhythm of the sea in the pains throughout his legs. He was writing incessantly. Not his memoirs, as everyone had believed, but seven posthumous books of poetry.*

Preoccupied by his illness and the end which was so near, Neruda reduced the tremendous metaphysical doubts of his solitude in Isla Negra to crystal-clear sentences and spare images of lyric beauty. Hidden in his room, in bed by the window through which he could see the golden sands of the Chilean coast grow dark in isolation from the storm which was brewing outside, like a sick man sustained by the heat of the huge logs burning in his stone fireplace while night sounds turned into the noise of battle and the pounding of the sea became the movement of tanks and planes, Neruda seems to have deliberately abandoned all traces of political rhetoric and opened his poems up to the same sun which burned inside him, knowing they would be purified by exposure to the final truth.

As the Chilean tragedy was played out, Neruda couldn't concern himself with the road the death squads would take, nor with the trenches into which the political parties would disappear. Wounded, obsessed and yet serene, he instead sought to understand why man cruelly wrenches open the breach of the road to his own destruction, crowning it, if possible, with resignation, sometimes known as heroism, or with wrong-headedness that unfolds as tragedy.

I think Neruda foresaw the outcome of events in Chile months before September. We all did. I also think that every one of us knew that we were individually going to *live* the third act of a Greek tragedy, some at center stage, others in the chorus; some masked, and others with faces bare. Furthermore, it seems to me as if no one tried to hide himself away from this dance of death. Neruda's references to civil war in his poems and memoirs have a quality of premonition, a tone of acceptance, as if with the approaching end he would be able to decide what was worth living and what was not, what would be salvaged, and what would not.

* * *

There is a remoteness here, though certainly not indifference, and a clear differentiation between those who stake their lives on life and those who play with death. It only takes a cursory analysis of the memoirs and the last seven volumes of poetry to establish that Neruda unhesitatingly reaffirms his political convictions. One whole book, *Elegia,* gives poetic resonance to his unerring faith in the Soviet people. There are no banal slogans here, no provincial paeans, no dogmatism. The nuances of the commitment of a man like Neruda, an individualist, bon vivant, friend to his friends and mortal foe to his foes, play across the pages with sophisticated elegance. Among other things, they evoke an icy, almost hair-raising, dimension to the ferocity of the Stalinist period. For those who remember Neruda's famous cantos to Stalingrad, these lines reveal a deep and quite unexpected soul-searching:

> Then God and the Devil came to dwell inside Stalin; they settled down in his soul. That wise, calm Georgian, knowledgeable about wine and many such things; that clear-sighted captain of his people, accepted the move: God arrived with his dark mirror, and every day he retouched the image until its crystal shrunk and filled his eyes with fear. Then the Devil came and gave him a noose, a whip, and a rope. The earth was filled with his punishments, in every garden someone was hanged.
>
> (*Elegia,* p. 101)

His acrobatics with Yevtushenko are something more than just fillers: they are a clever warning against sectarianism and point to the necessity of raising more questions and fewer monuments in Russia.

I defend him against the new Philistines. Keep it up, Yevtushenko, in the circus show off our skill and our sadness, the pleasure it

* **Actually Neruda left eight books of poetry to be published after his death:** *La rosa separada, Jardin de Invierno, 2000 El corazón amarillo, Libro de las preguntas, preguntas, Elegia, El mar y las campanas, Defectos escogidos.* **For some unknown reason only seven have so far come out.** *Defectos escogidos* **is still unpublished.**

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gives us to play with the light so that the truth jumps like lightning from shadow to shadow. Hurrah! now we enter, dim the lights, and we'll use a reflector to light up the faces so they can thus see two happy birds, ready to cry along with everyone else.

(*Elegia*, p. 52)

Neruda is ironic with the Chinese, merciless with the Indians. He is fair and loyal to the Cubans when it comes to Fidel or Ché, but biting and unyielding with the writers who attacked him for making a trip to the U.S.A. for a P.E.N. Club Congress. The tenacity and perseverance Neruda displays in his determination not to forgive or forget is remarkable. His *Memorias* are filled with details from his life which would be judged insignificant if subjected to the slightest sense of proportion, and yet they appear as razor sharp as the day when they cut him. His encounter with Madame Sun Sing Ling when she was awarded the Lenin Peace Prize, and the image of her conveyed by a trivial anecdote, have all the ferocious bite of a Chaplin burlesque. He begins by speaking of smiles:

But there are two varieties of Chinese smiles. One is natural: it lights up the wheat-colored faces—it belongs to the peasants and the vast majority of the people. The other one is off-again, on-again; false; pasted on and then pulled off from under the nose—it's the bureaucrats' smile.

(*Memorias*, p. 285)

And then he continues:

When coffee was served, my dinner-partner, Sun Sing Ling, Sun Yat Sen's widow, the remarkable woman whom we had come to honor, took a cigarette out of her case. Then, with a stunning smile, she offered me one. "No, thanks, I don't smoke," I said. When I complimented her on the case, she said, "I keep it because it holds very important memories for me." It was dazzling, of heavy gold, studded with diamonds and rubies. I looked at it carefully, praised it some more, and returned it to its owner.

She forgot this in no time, because, as we got up from the table, she looked at me rather fixedly and said:

"My cigarette case, please?"

I was positive I had returned it, but I looked on the table, even under it, without finding a thing. Sun Yat Sen's widow no longer wore her smile; her black eyes bore through me like two merciless headlamps. The beloved valuable was nowhere to be found, and I began to feel absurdly responsible for its loss. Those two penetrating black eyes were fast convincing me that I was a jewel-thief.

Luckily, at the last agonizing moment, I realized that she once more had the case in her hands. She had found it in her purse of course; it was as simple as that. She recovered her smile, but I didn't smile again for years. These days I can't help but wonder if maybe the Cultural Revolution deprived her of her precious gold cigarette case once and for all.

(*Memorias*, p. 286)

China also inspired Neruda with this odd notion of the writer as fisherman:

It seems to me that the writer's craft has a lot of parallels with that of the Arctic fisherman. The writer must first seek his waters, and, if he finds them frozen, he must break through the ice. He has to be patient, endure the climate and hostile criticism, stand up to ridicule, search for the underlying current, cast his hook and line just so, and, after repeated attempts, all he catches is a tiny little fish. But he should keep on fishing, despite the cold, the ice, the water, the critics, until he begins to pull in bigger and bigger fish.

(*Memorias*, p. 273)

As for Nehru, what made him receive and dismiss Neruda so coldly? Neruda works up his description with the fine point of a stiletto. The meeting had been arranged at the suggestion of Joliot-Curie, who wanted to have an important message on the peace movement and nuclear disarmament hand-delivered to Nehru. He thought Neruda might be the most effective emissary:

Nehru had given me an appointment for the following morning in his office. He got up and offered his hand without the faintest smile of welcome. His face is so well-known from photographs that there is no point in describing it. His dark, cold eyes regarded me with no emotion whatsoever. I had been introduced to him and his father 30 years before at a tumultuous meeting of supporters of independence. I reminded him of this, and his manner remained unchanged. He answered whatever I said in monosyllables, continuing to stare at me with an unvaryingly cold regard.

I handed him the letter from his friend Joliot-Curie. He expressed his great respect for the French savant and calmly read the letter, in which Joliot spoke of me and asked his help in my mission. He finished reading, placed the letter back in its envelope, and looked back at me without a word. I thought briefly that maybe my presence had somehow awakened some kind of uncontrollable aversion on his part. It also occurred to me that this bilious-looking man must be momentarily suffering from some physical, political, or emotional trauma. There was a certain high-handedness about him, as if he were used to giving orders, but he didn't have the brute strength of a caudillo.

(*Memorias*, p. 278)

In his attitude toward Mexico, Neruda seems to have been left with some unfinished business, like a fleeting and passionate love that never really reaches fulfillment. The Revolution of 1910 didn't move him, nor did the reformism which followed. Revolution for Neruda means the Russian Revolution, just as civil war means the Spanish Civil War. Imperialism means the U.S.A., and neofascism, Nixon. These are set categories in his memoirs. He sees the Mexican Revolution on the walls of its capital city, through the idiosyncrasies of its famous muralists— Rivera, Orozco, and Siquieros—rather than in its writers, or contemporary political accounts. Of his comrade Diego Rivera he says:

Diego Rivera had done so much work by then and had fought with so many people that the huge painter was already a legend. Seeing him, I was surprised he didn't have a scaly tail or a cloven hoof.

Diego Rivera always had a fantastic imagination. Ilya Ehrenburg had published a book in Paris before World War I on his exploits and fantasies called *Vida Y Andanzas de Julio Jurenito.*

Thirty years later, Diego Rivera was still a master painter and fableizer. He recommended human flesh for its healthfulness and delicacy; he gave out recipes on how to prepare people of all ages. Or he would hold forth on lesbian love as the only normal relationship, as proved by the most ancient archeological evidence uncovered by expeditions

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which he himself had led.

Sometimes he would talk for hours, moving his heavy-lidded Indian eyes and telling me of his Jewish ancestry. Other times, he would forget what he had previously claimed and swear that he was the father of Field Marshall Rommel, but that the fact should be kept secret because disclosure might provoke a serious international incident.

His extraordinarily persuasive tone and the calm way he had of relating the most minute and unexpected details of his lies, made him a superb spinner of tales--no one who ever knew him could forget their spell.

(*Memorias*, p. 211)

* * *

Universal history didn't begin for Neruda until around 1920. Before that date, the world was an enormous and wild fable of the making and destruction of continents; of realms and empires that danced and grew weary; of islands that sang like sirens; of jungles that went up in smoke; of cities without pasts, that were born only when Neruda visited them; of boundless centuries linked, as with a belt of gold, steel or fire, by the spirit of great artists, writers and caudillos. The story of his childhood appears as a lyrical fable of dreams spun out of America's southern jungles. His early years were of this century, but they could have happened in other epochs to another child like him, a child who had yet to find the keys to the days and nights which would one day become memories.

Nothing better illustrates Neruda's sense of discovering the deeply mysterious and magical natural world of South America than this simple childhood episode:

> They brought me a half-dead swan. It was a kind I've never seen since, a marvelous creature with a black neck, a snow-white boat with a neck as sleek as if it were wearing a black silk stocking. It had an orange beak and red eyes.
>
> This was near the ocean, in Puerto Saavedra, Imperial del Sur.
>
> It was nearly dead. I bathed its wounds and forced bits of bread and fish down its throat. It threw up everything. Nevertheless, it gradually began to heal and to sense that I was a friend. And I understood that it was pining after something. Then I carried its weight in my arms through the streets to the river. It swam a little, close by me. I wanted it to fish and pointed out the silvery southern fish slipping in and out among the pebbles and sand on the bottom. But its sad eyes looked off into the distance.
>
> So every day for more than twenty days I carried it to the river and back home again. The swan was practically as big as I was. One afternoon it was especially self-absorbed; it swam around near me, but paid no attention to my attempts to teach it to fish. It was very still, and once more I picked it up in my arms to carry it home. Then, as I lifted it up to my breast, I felt a ribbon unwind, as if a black arm were grazing against my face. It was its long, curving neck falling. That is how I learned that dying swans do not sing.
>
> (*Memorias*, p. 28)

For Neruda, the history--but not the poem--of his life began to unfold only after 1920, each stage marked in relation to the wars and revolutions during which his generation came to maturity, fought, and died: The Spanish Civil War, the workers' struggles in Chile, the nuclear disarmament campaigns of the Cold War years, the Unidad Popular victory in 1970, and its defeat in 1973. Of course there are other events which leave their mark, but the period in which Neruda confesses "having lived," really began with *Maestranzas Nocturnas* in 1920, moved on through the widower who improvises a tango in 1930 while his mistress circles around his musket with a knife in her hand, not ready to kill him, kisses his white shoes, and then raises up her floury and tear-streaked face; to the Spanish militiaman who salutes the Lincoln Brigade with clenched fist; to the fugitive member of the Chilean underground who flees to Europe wanted by the vile Videla, writing at night all the while on his *Canto General;* to Whitman's disciple who received the Peace Prize for his poem "Que Despierte el Leñador." A poet, that is, who grew with the peoples' battles, who was reborn from one crisis to another, reacting to modern history as if he were a whole country instead of a poet: his work a chain of islands, of stepping stones upon which man might walk along his endless march toward liberation.

* * *

Yet despite the continuity of Neruda's life and work, two questions about the *Memorias* continue to puzzle me. First, what happened in his life to stop the flow of political rhetoric, put out the baroque volcano, and leave him seated, searching for a dialectic to balance his convictions and the burden of defeat. And second, what kind of orchestral arrangement was performed with Neruda's notebooks in the process of organizing them into the *Memorias*?

The Neruda I knew is not quite the Neruda of the *Memorias.* As a memoir writer he is always aware of his weight and importance: he lets names drop across the pages like fame-laden medals. He aspires to entertain and he is entertaining, but he is also chipping away, pointing out, bedazzling, writing with an eye to History--he who lived to be forgotten and to mature and be reborn in the raw material of his *Odas,* without much form but with sufficient time and boundless space to move about in the pantheistic disorder of the cemetery. Here indeed is an eminent memoir-writer. But then I think of Neruda's laughing face and feel unsure of what I read.

Neruda was a man-child--generous, capricious, insatiable. How many times I have thought, while listening to him, or just watching him, of the enormous, genuine simplicity of this giant who wrote books like continents, plumbing the depths of the seas and jungles of Chile to test, as he always said, the extent and substance of his own roots. He played the game as if he knew that in the whole world there wasn't enough lightning to strike him down. There is something mysterious about parts of this incredible book that remain to be explained. Neruda, it has been often stated, is not dead. His funeral in Santiago was an explosive political catharsis of marches, songs and speeches. Someone, expected to eulogize him, shouted out, "Why should we speak? Let Neruda speak out of his great silence!"

In order to hear him clearly, I go back to his seven books, which include some of his most splendid lyrical poetry, and to pages out of his *Memorias,* which give us a good meas-

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ure of the universality of his voice. Like this one, for example:

I want to live in a world without outcasts. I wouldn't excommunicate anyone. I wouldn't ever say to a priest: "You can't baptize anybody because that's anti-communist." I wouldn't say to somebody else, "I won't publish your poem, your creative work, because you're an anti-communist." I want to live in a world where people are simply human, with no other title than that, without any special rules, or words, or orders. I want there to be free access to all churches, to all printing presses. I don't want them to stand around at the City Hall any longer waiting for someone so they can grab him and expell him. I want everyone to come and go at the Civic Center with a smiling face. I don't want anyone escaping in a gondola, or being chased by a motorcycle. I want the great mass of people, the true majority, everyone, to be able to speak, read, listen, grow. I have always struggled on these terms, to this end. I never have understood the hard line except as something to erase. I've taken the road I have precisely because I believe it will lead to this enduring fellowship. I fight for this vast goodwill. In spite of all the clashes between my poems and the police, in spite of all the incidents I've recounted plus those that I haven't for fear of being repetitive, or those that didn't happen to me but to others who can no longer relate them, I still have an unshakeable faith in human destiny, an ever stronger conviction that we move nearer to an over-riding tenderness. I write knowing that the threat of the Bomb, a nuclear disaster which would wipe out the world, hangs over our heads. But that fact doesn't change my hope. At this crucial juncture, in this split-second of agony, we know that the ultimate light will reveal itself before our half-closed eyes. We shall understand each other. Move forward together. That is my undying hope.

(*Memorias*, p. 310)

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WORKFARE

(From page 28)

welfare rolls because he didn't understand his CWEP assignment; transportation money to CWEP workers deducted from their food stamp allotments; a breakdown of childcare arrangements for welfare mothers with CWEP assignments. One social worker pointed to a classic ruling by Reagan's welfare department—recently overturned by the courts—that pregnant women can do without additional welfare benefits because the fetus receives free room and board.

The Reagan administration claimed that, while putting able-bodied "welfare bums" to work, it would increase aid for those who truly need it. But the administration's basic suspicion of those on welfare has made the program unwilling or unable to recognize true needs. "There are reasons why CWEP isn't working," observed San Francisco social worker John Drago. The Reagan workfare bureaucrats "are basically contemptuous of the clients that look to them for help." Drago went on to point out that many welfare people need some sort of medical attention before they can work. Many have pressing family problems that must be solved before they can devote attention to a job. But unless the need is extreme enough that it cannot escape the attention of an "employment counselor," it is usually ignored.

Zoela A., a Guatemalan immigrant in her early thirties, is a case in point. She was assigned to a Work Incentive (WIN) job program in San Francisco—WIN is federally funded, but administered by the same state agency as CWEP. In addition to her welfare check she receives $135 a month to pay for childcare for her three children—something she would not get from CWEP. Still, it is not enough; she works through lunch break so that she can get off earlier and go home. One week her baby-sitting money failed to arrive. There was a foul-up, she was told. The welfare department would have to send to Sacramento to straighten things out. Meanwhile, she continued to show up for her work assignment, while her children stayed home alone. She was afraid not to come. A friend of hers, she said, had her check cut off for two months after failing to show up for a work assignment. "I believe that it is necessary that the President or somebody knows about what happens here," she said, "because the money is not enough for us. You know that life is very high day by day."

[FAILURE ON ANY TERMS]

Having failed to approach the needs of California's poor, CWEP has been a failure even on its own terms. However strongly Ronald Reagan might insist that able-bodied welfare recipients should "do work for the community in return for their welfare grants," the jobs simply are not there not even for a "large-scale demonstration project." Organized labor, worried and angry, insisted that the bill creating CWEP include a provision that salaried employees could not be replaced by people working only for a welfare check. The Reagan administration was not about to create new jobs in the public sector for these people. So where would 30,000 CWEP assignees work?

"They're so freaky on this program, you'd think I'd given away the crown jewels or something."

—Skip Charbonneau

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The state was able to place a few with agencies that normally rely on volunteers, like the March of Dimes. Many were put to work in local welfare offices. In rural counties, where organized labor was weak, some were placed with private employers. There were some attempts at "rate-busting"—an unemployed painter, for instance, was sent out on a CWEP paint job to earn his welfare check, which meant he would be working for a lot less than union scale. The union threatened to take away his union card if he went, while the welfare department threatened to cut off his payments if he did not. More often, however, the unions blocked CWEP before it got even that far. When a hospital in San Francisco agreed to take on some CWEP workers, unionized employees protested; the hospital soon withdrew from its CWEP contract. Two counties have passed resolutions condemning the program.

For the most part, the program simply failed to function without jobs to fill. In February 1974 the welfare department, despairing of getting the program off the ground after two years of trying, imposed a quota on all counties for CWEP participation. At least one percent of a county's welfare caseload had to be put on CWEP. Within a month, CWEP placements tripled, although they are still below the one percent quota. In one county, 48 of 49 CWEP cases were put to work in the welfare office itself. In another, the officials sent a number of welfare people to school, counting *that* as CWEP job placement. A third county met its quota by putting people in CWEP positions for all of two hours. There were simply no real jobs to be found.

But what about the guiding assumption that, in areas with a CWEP program, welfare applications would go down because "potential recipients would seek alternative means of support rather than subject themselves to the welfare process?" A study conducted by the state welfare office in June 1974 found that, in fact, the number of welfare applications was *higher* in CWEP counties than in non-CWEP counties. The report did find that more welfare people in CWEP counties were dropped from the welfare rolls ("deregistered") because they had found jobs. But it did not take into account rising unemployment in at least one large non-CWEP county. And in any event, the effect of CWEP either in obtaining employment for people or threatening them into jobs could hardly be measured, since at the time of the study, most of the CWEP counties had less than 20 placements. One "CWEP county" had no one in the program at all.

The same report also claimed that CWEP assignees were more likely to become employed—thereby leaving the welfare rolls—than other welfare clients. But the study did not examine what connection, if any, there is between the CWEP assignments and the jobs. In fact, the report acknowledged the possibility of "a bias in the selection of those recipients who are referred to CWEP work assignments in that the recipients have the attributes

Meanwhile, back in New York

If a man's chances of becoming President depended upon the number of welfare recipients he had forced into work programs, New York's Nelson Rockefeller would have it all over Ronald Reagan. For while Reagan's CWEP has placed so few people that its officials refuse to reveal the number, WREP (Work Relief Employment Program), a result of Rockefeller's 1971 welfare reform crusade, has 10,000 welfare people working part time for the city of New York. New York's welfare work boom has been helped along by a city hiring freeze that has been in effect for several years. For as long as four years in some cases, no one has been hired for lower-level civil service jobs. All these positions are being filled by federally subsidized WREP workers, who work half day or more to earn about eight percent more than they received while on welfare—an average of $57 a week.

The brains behind WREP is a New York City welfare official named Paul Elston. Unlike his counterparts out West, Elston avoids discussing the punitive side of his forced work program, though he agrees that such was the intention of the Rockefeller bill. He prefers to talk about how much welfare employees like their assignments. For instance, he says, WREPers especially appreciate their jobs in the winter because city offices are usually warmer than their own apartments.

Unfortunately, a WREP job assignment almost never leads to permanent employment—supposedly the goal of the entire program. For one thing, WREP provides no training. The work is menial, and since most WREP workers have held jobs before, often better than their WREP jobs, the "work experience"—a concept dear to forced welfare work advocates—is virtually meaningless. As one of the welfare department's own reports drily concluded, "WREP does not increase competitive employability." Furthermore, as Paul Elston admits, "There are no jobs."

Meanwhile, WREP workers are locked into such exalted positions as "assistant rodent control aide" with no hope of a promotion or a merit raise, or even a full-time paycheck. WREP workers have been used for jobs such as street cleaning or translating. They are fast becoming a permanent sub-civil service proletariat.

The one hopeful sign in this otherwise dismal situation is a new labor union called United WREP Workers. Organized by a few WREP workers and ex-welfare rights organizers, the union has won the support of the United Auto Workers' Leonard Woodcock, and more importantly, a local council of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, which represents the city's full-time civil servants. United WREP Workers' first victory was to have the designation "WREP client" changed to "WREP worker." Their demands are simple, but speak volumes about the needs of victims of welfare systems everywhere: "Full time jobs at adequate pay." —T.Z.

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which would make them most likely to seek and find employment with or without the CWEP work assignment." Milton Quadros, the regional director for CWEP in the San Francisco Bay Area, acknowledged that a number of "job ready" people are stuck into CWEP while they are looking for jobs, although Peter Rank denies this.

To be sure, there are some cases where CWEP work may provide the assignee with useful experience. Maria C., a 22-year-old woman who had never worked before, believed that office skills picked up in a CWEP assignment would help her get a job. But such cases seem to be entirely accidental; most people on welfare have held jobs before and know what working entails. The case of Patricia C. is probably more typical. When she did receive a job referral, it was for a cashier's job—the same kind of work she had done before. She didn't get it, but if she had, the statistics would have added another success story to CWEP's record, although in reality CWEP would have done nothing for her at all.

[AN IDEA WHOSE TIME HAS COME]

California's workfare program has taken an idea whose time has come—the transformation of welfare into an employment preparation system—and with unerring instinct discarded all of its hopeful possibilities. The most successful welfare-to-work programs have been on-the-job training projects; they provide able-bodied welfare recipients with real jobs; provide the medical care, day care, and whatever else is needed to allow them to work; and then provide training on the job. Such programs are expensive; they not only commit a government to creating new jobs, but also would eventually force the government to provide day care and medical facilities for others besides former welfare recipients. That would mean a commitment to a full employment economy, which in turn would require radical changes in the structure of the economy itself.

No national administration or state government has even considered committing itself to such a goal. But it took the Reagan administration to set

"EDD has personnel which are basically contemptuous of the clients that look to them for help." — John Drago

up a welfare and work program that provided no jobs at all, no training at all, and as little as possible in support services such as childcare, transportation, and medical and rehabilitative services. The result has been both misery for CWEP assignees and failure for the program.

Certainly there are large numbers of people who would continue to need direct aid from the government: the aged, individuals or families hit by disaster, the sick, people who are crippled physically or emotionally. But most studies of the welfare poor conclude that most have worked or want to work, and are anxious for themselves and their children to move up in the world. One welfare worker reported that most people on welfare "cheat": they work on the side, using a combination of a low-salaried job and a welfare check to make ends meet. A high welfare official in New York acknowledged the same thing, saying that his office looks the other way. These people know more than the average American about self reliance. What most of them really need are decent jobs.

Research associate for this article was Thomas Schwartz

CHILDBIRTH

(From page 40)

anesthetics are nitrous oxide (mask), cyclopropane, ether, flourane or intravenous sodium pentothal. These, expecially when they follow analgesics, pass across the placenta to the child's circulation and make it very sleepy. Babies often find it difficult to breathe because of reduced oxygen to the brain and tissues. General anesthesia is not often used unless medically indicated, such as for a Caesarian section. Ether and chloroform are no longer used because they cause vomiting and aspiration. Nitrous oxide (laughing gas or Trelene) is still used, often in emergencies when there is no time to lose. The woman can use a hand-held mask and administer the gas herself.

Conduction Anesthetics – a cocaine drug such as xylocaine or novocain is injected at a specific location to block nerve impulses to the brain. A skilled anesthetist is essential. The woman remains conscious. She can usually move her legs (unlike with a spinal) but the urge to bear down is inhibited.

Local – eliminates pain by injecting an entire area or single spot to block nerve fibers.

Pudendal block – an injection given through the buttocks toward pelvic bones. The baby is not felt coming out and the mother must be coached to push.

Paracervical block – a needle is placed through vagina to cervix. It sometimes slows the baby's heart after injection. Its use is often in relieving labor pain.

Spinal – this is a dangerous method and mortality is very high when used improperly. Here, the anesthetic is injected into the spinal fluid surrounding the lower spinal cord. Forceps are required in most cases. Low back pain and headaches are side effects.

Saddle block or "low spinal" — the injection numbs the part of the body that would touch a saddle. Although less anesthetic is used low back pain can result.

Extradural – the anesthetic is placed in a space lined by ligament and bone external to the dura (tough membrane covering spinal cord and brain), rather than in contact with spinal cord itself.

According to Constance Bean's *Methods of Childbirth*, a 1968 study by Dr. T. Brazelton showed 24-hour de-

Photographs by Daniel Hunter

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lays in a baby's weight gain, delayed sucking response, and abnormalities in electroencephalograms during the early days after birth associated with babies in medicated births as compared with babies whose mothers had not received medication.

In 1970, the Society for Research in Child Development published a monograph summarized by the International Childbirth Educational Association stating that "virtually all obstetric medications — amnesics, analgesia and anesthetics, including the medication used for caudal, epidural, paracervical and pudendal anesthesia — rapidly cross the placental barrier and enter the fetal blood supply within a short time of the administration to the mother. As Bean states, "This work refutes the accepted view that scopolamine and conduction anesthesics have no direct effect on the baby."

The choices of women, if they are even allowed to decide, differ greatly. One woman complained,

> I had my first child in a hospital. I was prepared — I went to Lamaze classes with my husband and my obstetrician said he favored natural childbirth. To me, natural childbirth is unmedicated childbirth and we discussed that. At the time of delivery, he blocked the mirror and hit me with anesthesia. I have never been so upset.

Another woman, a New York lawyer, felt differently,

> My doctor offered, and I accepted a cervical block. I was so tired that I didn't think I could cope with a lot of pain when I was supposed to push. I couldn't tell that this made any difference since I felt the same afterwards.

As one San Francisco obstetrical nurse summarized, "The problem is that many doctors simply don't want to see the woman in pain." But for a woman, it must be a joint decision between herself and her physician. Does the woman really have the option to request or deny pain medication?

[LABOR AND DELIVERY — OTHER ISSUES]

The enema – in most hospitals enemas are routinely given prior to delivery. Some women dislike this tremendously as it is not a natural process and often causes pain during labor contractions. Physicians cite its necessity to avoid defecation during delivery, causing filling of the baby's mouth and embarrassment to the woman.

Shaving of pubic area – again, some women feel this to be humiliating, unnatural and uncomfortable when growing in. In normal delivery, the procedure is not necessary. In case of complication, such as hemorrhaging, not shaving can be a major cause of infection.

Position of labor & delivery – the weight of the uterus on a blood vessel places stress on the mother's circulation and may deprive the infant of blood if a flat-on-the-back position is used in labor.

In delivery, the "lithotomy" position, in which the mother lies flat with her legs in stirrups, is claimed by some to add stress. Proponents of natural childbirth tend to recommend a semi-sitting possition, against a back wedge, without stirrups, in which the woman holds her own legs. Other hospital alternatives can be lithotomy with feet hanging and no stirrups. English position, on the side, is difficult because the woman doesn't have the ease to support her legs. There should also be a large mirror above the delivery table in which the mother can observe the birth if she is conscious.

Episiotomy – this is an incision made by the physician right before birth to enlarge the vaginal opening. This is done in almost all cases to prevent laceration, but there are some women who do not require one. This is also connected with anesthesia issues, as doctors administer a local anesthetic in order to stitch up the episiotomy. Women also often find healing painful.

Where not necessary, it is usually the result of the mother balancing her bearing-down efforts against the discomfort produced by vaginal stretching. Once an episiotomy is performed, doctors tend to repeat it because it may be easier to lacerate. As Bean states: "There is no evidence from studies that episiotomies prevent the need for gynecological repair later on, but the routine episiotomy is based on this assumption."

If a woman is prepared, the incision will most likely be smaller. The lack of one could increase risk to the baby resulting from the increased pressure of a smaller vaginal opening.

Forceps delivery – a metal instrument resembling two hollowed spoons tied in the middle is used to ease the head out, if necessary. Forceps should be used only where medically indicated, such as in case of malpresentation, exhaustion, protection of the baby from excess head pressure, or to speed delivery if the infant has a low heart-beat. They also can prevent cerebral palsy in the newborn and prevent the rupture of the mother's vaginal membranes.

Many women have a fear of forceps delivery, but that may go back to days when mid-line forceps were used — going all the way up and sometimes causing severe damage. Caesarian sections are now usually done in such cases.

Now forceps may leave pressure marks on the baby which go away within a day. They are also used only at the time when the head is showing. Much negativism associated with the method go back to anesthesia: if a woman is drugged and cannot push, forceps will be necessary.

Tying of the umbilical cord – if clamped too early, placental transfusion will be blocked.

Presence of the father (friends) in delivery – many hospitals now permit the father in the delivery room. If the woman has gone to prepared childbirth classes, the husband is essential to her emotional and physical comfort. His supportive role is irreplaceable. In classes, he learns to massage his wife's back and rub her stomach during contractions. Together, they alone can work out relaxation techniques which work for the particular women. Hospitals vary: some will allow the father to be with his wife at all times; others will call him in at the last minute. In some cases, the father has to stand in a specific spot and look in the mirror. Attitudes of staff also vary.

One woman, who recently gave birth at U.C. Medical Center said,

> My husband was there as he was at all the clinic visits before. He was as much a part of the birth as myself, the doctor, or nurses. The doctor was explaining everything to him including what the placenta was for. It was the most exciting day of our lives.

Other women report negative experiences:

> The attitude of the doctors to my husband was "listen, Mister, you're lucky we're letting you be here so be quiet and don't make any trouble."

This alternative is not suited to all women or situations. If general anesthesia is used, complications are indicated, or a Caesarian section is performed, the presence of the father would be a hindrance.

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[AFTER DELIVERY]

"The range of sight for the infant is approximately 17 inches, therefore keep the baby as near to that distance from your eyes as possible – the breast is just right in order to ensure contact."

With the advent of Freudian psychology to Lorenz's experiments with imprinting in ducks, Bowlby's *Attachment and Loss* and Montagu's *Touching*, the importance of the mother-child relationship in the first years of life has been established. In nurseries, nurses are now being hired to do nothing but handle the infants around the clock. As a result, many women are demanding alternatives to the once accepted hospital standard of mother and infant separation immediately following delivery.

Some options currently available in American hospitals, but which often must be requested by the woman, are holding the infant immediately following birth, even before the umbilical chord is tied, nursing the infant on the delivery table, a shortened period of observation of the infant, and a choice of tests which should be performed on the infant. Other options include:

Rooming-in – a major option in which the infant remains with the mother during her hospital stay. Depending upon the hospital, the rooming-in may be continuous (24 hours a day); or modified (early in the morning until approximately 8:00 in the evening). Combinations are also possible, such as modified with night feedings. In most hospitals, rooming-in is permitted only in a private room or a ward room reserved for the purpose, and visitors, aside from the father, are usually not permitted.

Again, rooming-in is not for all women. "It may be that the woman has had four or five children and doesn't want the baby in her room," says Dr. Robert Ballard, director of the nursery for newborns at Mt. Zion Hospital. Or she may be too tired, since giving birth is said to be the equivalent of a nine-mile swim.

Breastfeeding – it is generally agreed that breast-feeding should be encouraged. Mothers should be aware that milk does not usually come until the third day and prior to that her breasts secrete colostrum. Breastfeeding also allows the woman to empty her breasts, which can otherwise become heavy and painfully engorged.

Women who do not breastfeed have many reasons — physical, social and psychological. She may feel she is too busy. Working women are sometimes embarrassed to breastfeed in public. Mothers with high-risk pregnancies, often in poorer areas and tending to have the babies needing breastfeeding the most, are precisely the ones who are never encouraged. As one woman put it, "I was separated from my baby for 12 hours. I was given no information or told that I could feed her. They just took her off to the nursery and gave her formula."

Dr. Marshall H. Klaus, neonatologist and professor of pediatrics and director of nurseries at Case Western University, has confirmed the same results. Breastfed babies are less likely to become constipated, or contract skin disorders and respiratory infections. They also have seven times fewer allergies and can handle foreign proteins. Delayed sucking and feeding opportunities are often associated with medicated births.

A European Alternative

Critics of the American maternity care system point to European birthing practices, which manage to combine safety and dignity for the mother throughout her childbirth. In the Netherlands and in Sweden, two countries with socialized medicine and consistently low infant mortality rates, surgical intervention during childbirth is far less common than in this country. As Doris Haire, co-president of the International Childbirth Education Association, reports, approximately 70 percent of Dutch mothers give birth in the familiar surroundings of their home, usually assisted by a midwife and a medical aide. Dutch hospital personnel have also done an impressive job of bringing the atmosphere of a home delivery to the hospital setting.

Among current Dutch and Swedish childbirth practices which could be implemented in this country to improve the experience for the entire family unit are the following:

- Extensive pre-natal care and childbirth preparation.
- No induction of labor unless there are definite medical indications for its necessity.
- No routine administration of drugs unless at the specific request of the mother.
- Presence of mate throughout the childbirth experience.
- Labor, delivery and recovery in the same bed and no enforced lithotomy position.
- No routine episiotomy.
- No routine use of forceps which may bruise or possibly cause brain damage to the newborn infant.
- Immediate nursing, if mother desires.
- No immediate separation of mother and newborn for hours of testing in the nursery.

The kind of good maternity care available in the Netherlands and Sweden depends on the willing collaboration of all labor attendants to assist the mother in every possible way while letting her stake out her own territory and be aware of and comfortable with the procedures. In this country, however, that kind of cooperation is still a dream.

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Length of stay – this varies from two hours in some hospitals to five days in others for a normal birth. But women are beginning to assert their own timetables and some are even signing themselves out AMA (against medical advice). The length of stay (normal birth) is often correlated with the educational level of the woman. For poorer women, especially those on Medicaid, the hospital stay may provide the only period of relaxation she may have in years: meals are provided and the family is away. More time is also necessary for postpartum education, including future family planning.

Nurses generally dislike early discharge. As one nurse at Oakland's Merritt Hospital explained,

> Early discharge gives us little time for teaching. It's surprising to me how ignorant mothers are on how to care for a baby. But the women who've had kids before and can take it in stride, it's fine.

In contrast Marin County General Hospital in California, where over 50 percent of births are by methods of prepared childbirth, women go home after two hours.

[OTHER WAYS]

"The woman must understand that childbirth is natural, not an illness. The program begins with prenatal sessions with a nurse functioning in a counseling role. It is flexible – the nurse and woman decide when, where and how often they meet. The woman is discharged almost immediately after birth and is followed up at home by the nurse daily for the first 3 or 4 days and less often after that."

Future trends in childbirth are indicated by some programs already underway in this country. The general trend is toward family-centered care defined by the International Childbirth Education Association as

> a flexible concept of individualized maternity care which permits the parents to share the child-bearing experience and to have access to their baby during the postpartum period as much as they desire. In a family-centered program the couple may choose NOT to take classes or be together during labor and birth and the mother may prefer that her baby remain in the nursery most of the day. Family-centered maternity care is patient-centered care, pure and simple.

The organizational trend is toward centralization of maternal facilities in one or two larger hospitals with link-up clinics, which avoids waste, lowers costs, and provides the most advanced techniques in life-saving technology. Wisconsin Prenatal Care Centers are an outstanding example. By 1975, every medically known pregnancy in Madison and its 14 surrounding counties, encompassing 28 hospitals and 13,000 births, will be computer monitored.

Whether in a hospital, clinic, or maternity center, trends are toward increased husband participation, shorter stay, lengthened prenatal care period, use of classes, individualized rooming-in, decreased use of anesthesia with the introduction of electro-anesthesia and acupuncture as alternatives. Mothers will also be encouraged to breastfeed to fit the baby's natural schedule.

Gentle-birthing, a new method of nonviolent childbirth introduced in France seven years ago by Dr. Frederick Leboyer, may have implications for the future. In this method, the lights in the delivery room are dimmed, voices drop to whispers, the baby is very slowly pulled out and deposited on the mother's belly while the nurses stroke him gently. After about ten minutes, the doctor cuts the umbilical cord and places the child in a luke-warm bath, which is intended to simulate the environment of the mother's womb as closely as possible.

In the area of research and technology in obstetrics and gynecology, perhaps more advances have been made in the last 15 years than in any other field of medical science. Through the pap smear cancer can be detected early. Drugs are now available for Rh negative women (Rogan), to induce ovulation, as well as the pill to prevent conception. In the growing fields of perinatology and fetology, new developments will be electronic fetal monitoring to prevent stillbirths and cerebral palsy, newborn intensive care units, and the use of computers in all aspects of care from history taking to education and diagnosis.

Research is currently in progress in areas of genetic counseling and screening, use of ultrasound techniques, and instruments to transfer blood to the fetus and take chromosome counts. Much is also being done to recognize teratogens, agents or factors producing physical defects in babies — the blighted potato has recently been found to be teratogen causing high infant mortality in Ireland. Connections between fetal health and smoking and drug use will probably be made.

But all the scientific trends must keep pace with the rehumanication of the birth experience. The future trend does seem to be a change in attitude toward women — to one of human respect, concern, and understanding for her feelings and choices — by physicians as well as society in general. If a woman finds it impossible to obtain the type of childbirth experience she prefers under the existing system, there is the alternative of political action. Political groups can play a role on issues such as insuring the closure of obsolete facilities; supporting socially-oriented refresher courses for obstetricians; and insisting on Peer Standard Review Organizations, and on paid maternal and paternal leave without mandatory dates for leaving and returning.

Hopefully, with the new field of "social obstetrics" there will emerge a situation where the choices are jointly worked out by the woman and her physician. But until cooperation becomes the rule, if a woman is to assert herself it must be done prenatally. Once in the hospital it is too late to begin. As one woman commented several days after giving birth, "Being in a vulnerable position and being dependent I didn't have the emotional strength to go through the hassle of demanding, of being assertive."

The answer may well be a thoughtful compromise. The hospital could be moved to the home, as in Western European nations where births are backed up by obstetrical "flying squads" and mobile units. Or, more practically, the home could be moved to the hospital, through the development of maternity centers which have access to intensive care or emergency back-up facilities, but which do not carry the overhead costs of an all-purpose medical complex. A maternity home could be staffed by paraprofessionals and people trained in midwifery who recognized that birth was not an illness but a process of life, one that could benefit from all the advances of modern medicine but not be suffocated by them. But until such an alternative is available women will have to struggle with the options, and hopefully will forge a pleasant experience from her own persistent efforts.

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ENERGY

(From page 35)

1970, the airlines were logging 15 times as many passenger miles per year as were the railroads, although a jet airplane uses at least three times the fuel per passenger-mile as a train. And by the beginning of this decade, the airlines and the automakers were so well padded that they were able to operate at a lower efficiency than they did in 1950. Cars were averaging over a mile per gallon less at the end of the two decades than at the beginning (after a previous one-mile-per-gallon drop during the 1940s). The proportion of empty cargo space and passenger seats on airline flights both jumped around 30 percent. In 1970, planes were taking off with most of their cargo space and most of their passenger seats empty. If we behave as the demand curve says we will, by 2000 over 75 percent of transportation fuel consumption will be for air transport and the passenger automobile.

Using all that extra fuel for automobiles and airplanes instead of railroads and mass transit has for the most part been no pleasure. Being able to fly across the country has been nice for people in a hurry. But a large proportion of airline traffic is between cities such as Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington, which could all be served much more conveniently and comfortably by a well functioning train system linking the downtowns rather than by airlines that land an hour or two from the city center. The nation's most popular air route—a 190-mile hop from New York to Boston—could be traveled in half the time in a train like Japan's ten-year-old Tokyo-Osaka express.

Although automobile vehicle miles and gasoline consumption more than doubled in 20 years, the number of miles driven per car stayed about the same—which indicates that we are all traveling alone more often, each in our own car, but each of us is going no farther than before. In fact, over 90 percent of all automobile trips, accounting for 55 percent of automobile energy consumption, are short trips within an urban area—trips that could usually be made more easily on a good public transit system. Over 60 percent of auto mileage involves going to and from work, business-related travel, shopping, trips to the dentist, and other personal business—all unpleasant, stop-and-go traveling where the car gives poor mileage, and occupancy ranges from a low average of 1.4 passengers per car for traveling to and from work, to a high average of 2 passengers per car on shopping trips.

There is one occasion on which the much-maligned passenger automobile performs quite well—vacation travel. The engine has a chance to warm up (which it rarely does in city driving), there are fewer traffic lights to stop for, and gasoline mileage improves significantly. Vacation driving is often a pleasure, and in this case the ability to go wherever you want, when you want, with the people you want, really matters—as it does not in traveling to work or the store. Since there are an average of more than three people in the car on vacation trips, the automobile becomes a reasonably efficient mode of transportation. Even the bigness of American models serves a purpose on such occasions. But only one-tenth of one percent of all automobile trips, and 2.5 percent of all auto mileage, is vacation travel. Local pleasure driving accounts for only another 3.1 percent of that total mileage. So it turns out that the great American romance with the automobile of the past quarter century has actually been romance less than 10 percent of the time. The rest of the time has been more or less agony.

With that in mind, one might well wonder where a 250 percent increase in transportation fuel demand by the end of the century, automobile gasoline demand in particular, is going to come from, when the population will increase only by 25 to 50 percent. Hopefully, each of us will not be driving to work or shopping much more often than we do now. Vacation driving will increase, but to take up even a significant part of that 250 percent increase we would all have to be driving to the Grand Canyon and back full-time.

In fact, with the return of multi-mode transportation, fuel consumption in this sector should stay about the same for the rest of the century. A switch from air to rail transit for short hops, plus a rescheduling of planes so that most of the seats are filled rather than left empty, and an ending of airport subsidies for private non-commercial aircraft, should about take care of our air-transportation needs until the year 2000 with no increase in fuel input, or number of planes—even assuming the demand for long-distance flights increases significantly.

Automobile gasoline consumption should go way down (although the *Wall Street Journal* reports that the auto industry is having difficulties in improving auto mileage, presumably with continued effort they will manage to boost mileage back above the 1940 level by the end of the century). Mass transit consumption will to some extent displace less efficient modes. Mass transit need not be all gigantic subway systems, either. At present, the most efficient form of motorized transportation is a Volkswagen bus with seven people in it. People could (and in some localities already can) arrange to have the local minibus stop by at, say, 8:30 every morning and take them to a train or subway stop. Hopefully, if urban problems are ameliorated within the next 25 years, people will start moving back into the city and nearer their places of work, drastically cutting transportation requirements.

Freight traffic will increase, but once again, air freight usage could be doubled just by filling present capacity rather than flying cargo spaces mostly empty. The same applies to trucking and railroading. According to a study for the Joint Economic Committee of Congress, "Both trucking and railroading have been characterized as industries operating at what industrial firms would consider about 50 percent of capacity." The problem of underutilization extends to barge operations, too. The reason, claims the study, is a series of rules and rate structures formulated by the Interstate Commerce Commission which severely restrict what goods a particular hauler can carry, and inhibits truckers from hauling a full load in both directions. The ICC rules amount to a cartelization of all ground transport, permanently allocating shares of the business to established companies. So our freight hauling capacity probably can be doubled with little increase in energy input, simply by abolishing the ICC, as the study recommends.

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In effect, the energy crisis as it affects the transportation sector is largely a matter of reversing government and industry policies that have encouraged and subsidized wasteful practices. Far from requiring an increase in inconvenience, such a program would be part of a general improvement of the national transportation system.

[AT HOME AND AT WORK]

Energy use in homes and in commercial buildings brings to mind electricity, which is in fact the key to energy demand in this sector. But electricity usually in turn brings to mind its most conspicuous and novel forms of consumption: stereos, color TVs, blenders, electric typewriters, and frivolities such as electric toothbrushes, combs, and knives. Some utilities, by way of explaining their recent rate increases, encourage their customers to think of all these small but wonderful electric gadgets, many of which Americans have only recently acquired.

In fact, the gadgets use practically no electricity. In 1970, television consumed under 2 percent of total electricity output; clothes washers, dishwashers, irons, stereos, radios, blenders, toaster-ovens and all other small household appliances altogether used less than 1 percent of U.S. electricity consumption that year. Even in terms of household electricity consumption, television and all the other appliances named above put together used less than 9 percent. Clearly, 25 years from now, everyone will be able to have a color TV and quadrophonic sound, and even an electric knife, without causing blackouts. The problems in the residential/commercial sector come first amd foremost from heating, then from air conditioning, water heating, and finally, that symbolic incandescent light bulb.

Incandescent light bulbs use about 11 percent of the electrical supply in this sector. Making the light bulb an advertising symbol of the energy crisis was peculiarly apt, since it is possibly the most inefficient energy-using device ever invented. Leaving aside the fact that two-thirds of the energy that goes into electrical generation is wasted in the first place, the efficiency of an incandescent bulb in turning electricity into light runs between two and six percent. A vastly more efficient replacement, the fluorescent bulb, has been around a long time but hasn't received enough attention. Not only that, a fluorescent fixture that screws into a conventional incandescent socket has been around since 1956, though it is only now beginning to be considered seriously. A college in San Francisco that used these new converters cut its power requirements by 90 percent.

While no one has been talking about efficiency there has been a great deal of encouragement for higher lighting levels. As early as 1936, the Federal Trade Commission investigated the National Electric Light Association's "Better Light-Better Sight" campaign, which included having "lighting advisors," telephoning people and advising them to increase their wattage. Between 1950 and 1970, lighting levels recommended by the industry-dominated Illuminating Engineering Society (IES) at least tripled; new American office buildings are twice as bright as their new European counterparts. Levels being recommended by the industry have gone as high as four to six times the amount required for good reading. Office buildings are illuminated as though sunlight didn't exist: light at the building's perimeter is kept all day at the same level as lighting in the interior. One architect estimates that lighting demand at the monstrous New York World Trade Center could be cut by a third simply by utilizing available sunlight.

Lightbulbs may seem like small potatoes to a big company like GE, but all of this extra luminescent glare has added up. One former GE executive noted, "GE's net profit in its lamp department at times approximated 50 percent on investment . . . It was from its lamp profits that General Electric financed its entry into the home appliance field. There was no purpose or advantage of efficiency involved." Once again, increased waste was a product of deliberate policy, and there is no reason for us to plan for an exponential increase in inefficiency over the coming decades—in fact, we should be using a good deal less energy for lighting in 25 years than we use now.

Since electricity is such an inefficient form of energy, refrigerators and other large appliances (dishwashers, washing machines, clothes dryers) are three or four times as energy efficient if run by natural gas. Gas appliances are initially more expensive, but as energy prices go up, the long-run savings make the investment worthwhile.

The problem with gas is that it is in short supply, and there will not be nearly enough to meet all the demands we might make on it. Utilities have been wasting great amounts of natural gas in generating electricity (until this year, twice as much gas as petroleum was used in electrical generation). They plan to cut their natural gas consumption in half by the end of the century, but that is not nearly good enough. Virtually all use of gas by electrical utilities should be halted within five years. Such a move could free enough natural gas to increase gas consumption in the home for large appliances—if the energy problem posed by space heating, water heating, and air conditioning is to be handled properly.

The amounts of energy used for these purposes are prodigious, and so is the waste. Space heating alone accounts for about half of all residential and commercial energy use. Air conditioning accounts for about 2.5 percent of the total, but we hope and expect that air conditioning will be much more widely available than it is now. Water heating, which currently uses 3 percent of national energy consumption, will also increase as more homes install dishwashers.

A huge amount of the energy demand for these items could be eliminated with little or no technological innovation. The typical new home hot water heater and tank has about two inches of insulation. Another three inches of fiber glass insulation (costing around $15) would cut water heating energy demand about eight percent. For years, air conditioners have been on the market that are twice as efficient as the average American air conditioner, are three times as efficient as some big selling models, and are sold at a comparable price.

Air conditioning energy waste is especially troublesome because of the "peak load" problems it causes. On hot summer nights when everyone uses their air conditioners, lights, and televisions, electrical demand surges far

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"'Can We Afford the Future?' asked the Board Chairman of General Electric in a recent national advertisement. We can certainly afford the future. The real question is, can we afford GE?"

above normal, and utilities expand their electrical generating capacity just to serve those peak hours. The rest of the time, that extra capacity stands idle. National peak demand is already 60 percent higher than average demand, which means that most generating capacity is not used most of the time. Insofar as these peaks are caused by air conditioning demand, an increase in air conditioning efficiency is especially important.

In 1970, as much energy went for space heating as for running passenger automobiles, and about three-quarters of that was wasted through poor insulation, ventilation, and maintenance. Most furnaces run at between 35 and 50 percent of potential efficiency due to poor maintenance. Electric utilities might invest some money in advertising that tells home owners how to keep their furnaces clean. Apartment and commercial buildings ought to be required to have their furnaces inspected and cleaned every few months.

More than half of the energy used for home heating is lost through poor insulation. The Federal Housing Administration has belatedly made some adjustments in its insulation standards for FHA homes, and it is estimated that if all homes met FHA standards today, heating demand would be cut by 30 percent. But the FHA standards could be much higher than they are now.One study shows that at last year's electricity prices, an "economically optimum" amount of insulation (that is, considering the increased insulation cost versus the savings on energy costs) would cut heating and air conditioning use and costs by twice the amount that the new FHA standards will save over the old standards —a saving of up to $80 per year (again, *after* the costs of insulation are deducted from the energy savings). With drastically increased energy prices, no doubt the optimum amount of insulation, thus the potential energy savings, will go up. While it is difficult to reinsulate old homes, we can calculate a 50 percent savings in heating and air conditioning requirements by the end of the century, if insulation standards are raised to economically optimum levels and furnaces are kept clean.

All these gains could, however, be lost if the present trend towards electric heating continues. The all-electric home, so widely advertised in the last decades, is an energy disaster. A home stocked with all the electric appliances imaginable, but heating space and water with gas, uses about half the energy as the same home using electric water and space heating. An all-electric home in a New York climate will reach a peak electricity demand in the winter about five times higher than a home with gas heat. Twenty percent of the increase in residential electricity demand between 1930 and 1970 went to provide electric heat to just 7 percent of American homes. Home builders preferred electric heating because it was cheaper and easier to install (no furnace required). Buyers found it brought down the initial price of the home; and they were encouraged by the promotional rates offered by the utility companies for all-electric homes. Typically, the electrical industry has been predicting a five-fold increase in the number of electrically heated homes between 1970 and 1985.

The real solution to the heating and cooling problem, however, is solar energy. About eight times as much solar energy hits the average rooftop as would be required to heat the home. Designs have already been tested successfully for cooling, water heating and space heating based on roof-top solar collection. Solar energy collecting cells are already being commercially produced in Australia, Israel, and other countries; and solar water heaters are available in several countries (but not here). The problem with solar energy is storage for night and for non-sunny days. But one study has already shown that, even at Sixties fuel and electricity prices, a solar heating system with an auxiliary conventional heating system for overcast weather can already provide heat more cheaply than an all-electric home. The same heat collector can also provide the energy to run a home-cooling system on the same principle by which refrigerators now operate. Cooling by absorption of hot air rather than blowing in blasts of cold air, as present air conditioners do, would also be considerably more comfortable.

Technology to store solar energy is within the range of feasibility, but is much less advanced than simple solar energy collection technology, which is already practical. The point is, however, that we need not wait until solar energy is able to meet *all* energy needs before it is implemented. Even without collection technology, solar energy can at present make a substantial dent in residential electricity and fuel costs, and, at the very least, prevent a growing dependence upon electric power plants for heating and cooling.

Solar energy is the one area truly deserving a crash research, development and subsidy program. If the nuclear breeder reactor program were shut down and the $5 billion in funding planned for the next few years were put into solar energy development, we could guarantee beyond doubt that energy demand in the residential and commercial sector would stay level for the rest of the century. If an efficiency program were vigorously pursued, and if solar technology made one or two key major advances by then, fuel demand in the sector could probably be halved by the year 2000.

[UP THE CHIMNEY]

Of the three consuming sectors, industry is by far the most profligate in its waste. One top Department of Commerce engineer has suggested that industry could cut its energy consumption by 30 percent by applying straightforward energy conservation techniques. The horror stories are numerous. One company cut energy consumption 15 percent simply by requiring reports from department heads on energy use. Dow Chemical cut enough waste at a latex plant one year to provide the energy to run New York City's subway system for two years. Another chemical company found it could cut steam

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usage in one process by 20 percent, simply by installing flow meters, and using no more energy than necessary at the time. Other companies found it cheaper or easier to let large quantities of industrial steam escape than to keep the plumbing in good repair. Here energy conservation means increased quality control, which in turn means more, not less, employment.

Other savings are possible through new industrial processes. For instance, in steelmaking, the rails that convey steel slabs into the furnace must be cooled so they don't melt—which means that the energy being used to heat the furnace and the water used to cool the rails are working against each other. There is an insulating process which half of the furnaces in the U.S. and 90 percent of those in the other major steel-producing countries already have. If all U.S. steelmaking plants had such insulation, another 300,000 barrels of oil a day could be saved (about 2 percent of U.S. oil demand).

In many industrial furnaces, more than half of the heat energy goes up the chimney. A simple recuperation process draws air down alongside the hot chimney; the heated air is then used in the furnace. A process for making cement, currently in use in Europe, uses less than half the energy per barrel as does the average American cement kiln.

Of course a good deal of industrial energy could be saved just be cutting down on wasteful industrial output. Two hundred and fifty billion BTUs of energy could be saved by replacing throwaway aluminum cans and bottles with reusable bottles. Recycling most metals—whose extraction and refining account for the bulk of industrial energy use—also provides a substantial energy savings. An industry that can build obsolescence into its automobiles can at very least build them so that parts can easily be taken off and reused after the car itself is obsolete. Steel manufacture requires 68 million BTUs per ton, and a ten percent drop in automobile weight by 1980 would mean a saving of a million tons of steel.

Finally, energy supplies can be boosted just by finding a way to use the waste heat produced by electrical generating plants. Once again, the history books provide us with the "technological breakthrough" needed to dramatically increase efficiency in this area. In the 1920s and '30s, several major paper companies set up their own electrical power plants, and used the waste steam to make paper. The companies were able to generate three or four times as much electricity as they themselves needed, with very little more fuel than they would have needed just to produce steam for the production process. They undersold electric utilities so effectively that the Justice Department's antitrust division put a stop to it. (A similar idea for residential electricity needs, now being explored, involves small electrical generating plants built near an apartment complex, where the excess steam could be used for steam heating.)

[HOW TO AFFORD THE FUTURE]

None of the preceding ideas are technologically radical—there are other, more experimental technologies such as methods to store electricity, fusion power, magneto-hydrodynamics (generating electricity directly by passing hot gases through a magnetic field) and sea-thermal energy, that may or may not contribute to future energy supplies. But insofar as the solutions suggested above emphasize decentralization of energy supply and production, they are politically radical. For all the new developments—nuclear power, shale oil, coal gasification—planned by government and industry share one thing only: they are neither safe, efficient, tested, nor economical; but all require capital intensive, centralized development perfectly suited to the desires and abilities of big oil companies and utilities.

It has become a national habit to assign an "ethic" to those problems we don't intend to do anything about (such as the "work ethic" for the poor, or the "conservation ethic" for energy) and pay hard cash for those projects we are serious about—like the billions planned for expansion of energy resources. Chase Manhattan Bank says energy resource development to meet the projected demand will require investing a trillion and a half dollars by 1985. Electric utilities say another 500 billion will be needed for their investment requirements. The environmental costs will be even more staggering. The National Petroleum Council calls for strip-mining, massive Colorado shale development, off-shore oil drilling along all U.S. coasts, and more—all by 1985.

By the end of the century, these costs will pass beyond the merely alarming to the realm of the totally implausible. A scientist writing in *Scientific American* estimated that if electrical power demand hits the level predicted by government and industry, power plants would require the water equivalent of a third of the free-water runoff in the U.S.—100 percent of the runoff in dry seasons—in order to carry off the waste heat produced by the plants. Another scientist estimated that if California's electrical needs grow as fast as the Federal Power Commission says they will, there will be a power plant every two miles along the California coast. Of course such projections reach the outer limits of physical and biological possibility. This simply cannot continue, no matter how singlemindedly voracious our appetite for energy might be.

What we need is a reversal. A serious national program should be instituted to keep energy demand at 1970 levels for the rest of the century, and to cut fossil fuel consumption by one-third by the year 2000. The billions should be spent for solar energy research and implementation, revamping transportation to increase the number of transportation modes available. An "energy czar" should be named, with power to impose taxes on any industry that wastes energy, or any product that wastes energy either in manufacture (like throwaway beer cans and throwaway automobiles) or in use (like low-efficiency air conditioning, or all-electric homes). Environmental, safety, and leasing restrictions on fossil fuel development should be tightened to make sure that uncontrolled exploitation of natural resources does not continue. Rather than demanding billions of dollars in increased profit for new investment, energy-related industries (oil, utilities, electrical hardware manufacturers) will have to replace their "profit ethic" with a "reinvestment ethic," if they hope to last out the century in private hands. In the Fifties and Sixties, when energy was plentiful and cheap, few minded

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these companies' large profit margins. But at present, the need to get energy consumption under control is too pressing and too expensive to leave room for ever-expanding profit margins at the expense of the nation's natural resources. "Can We Afford the Future?" asked the Board Chairman of General Electric in a recent national advertisement. We can certainly afford the future. The real question is, can we afford GE?

Research associate for this article was Robert Shaffer.

FAMINE

(From page 32)

sures and temperatures and contain destructive reactions; and upon the associated costs of fuel needed to run the system. Experimentally, one can conceive of low temperature, high pressure processes. Here one substitutes pressure energy for direct heat input and runs into highly complicated reactions due to the chemical components of seawater.

The third method, a variant of the first, bids fair to be the generally adopted method of desalting. It is named the double-effect nuclear reactor, differing from the conventional reaction is largely dissipated in raising reaction is largley dissipated in raising the temperature of enormous masses of sea water to the point at which pure water vapor can be distilled. A variant of the double-effect reactor is its installation below sea level, in the ocean itself, so that sea-water intake, through suitable one-way containers, requires no mechanical exertion to provide the water input.

I shall not here discuss the obvious hazards in today's state of the nuclear art, nor the thermal pollution of the adjoining ocean and the effects upon marine biology. Obviously, conceding damaging side effects and assuming no appreciable near-future advances in nucleonics and their controls, humanity would have to settle agonizing trade-offs were we to follow this route. Does the danger of death of many by starvation outweigh the dangers and ecological injuries involved in the double-effect reactor? Wherever we turn, questions arise, questions of utmost urgency.

The fourth way is in the emerging technology of direct use of solar radiation to attain boiling temperatures at which sea water can be vaporized. This is a far more involved question than appears on its surface. By solar radiation, do we mean simply to substitute for fossil or nuclear fuels the hot infrared band of sunlight (perhaps with a parabolic mirror serving as a solar furnace, such as Archimedes employed against Roman warships 2200 years ago)? Or do we seek out far more complex processes, involving subtle reactions induced by some or all of the wave bands in transmitted sunlight?

Time and science may give us definitive answers. Meanwhile, the Libyan government is actively considering the general use of nuclear energy to generate electricity and to power water desalting plants. Already half completed is a $200 million electric-power desalting installation to go on station in 1975. One gathers that this is not the double-effect plant but one whose output, besides providing electricity for Misuraga in the east and to Cerara in the west, will also be drawn upon to heat seawater electrically in an adjoining desalting installation. Egypt is to receive German technical cooperation in irrigating the Qatarra Depression (some 436 feet below sea level), presumably with Nile waters, and is contemplating water conduits from the Nile across the Suez Canal to irrigate Sinai. Morocco, with the assistance of the World Bank, is involved in flood protection of some 800,000 acres and in irrigation projects at Sidi Slimane and Gharb-Sedou. Iraq has invited some 30 companies from Britain, Russia, France, Japan, Italy, Greece and Hungary to submit bids on a $350 million irrigation network. Iran has started work on a massive desalting plant at Bandar, Bushehr, under the direction of the Aryamehr Industrial University. In addition, France and Iran have agreed on the construction of nuclear power plants for water desalting and power production. Egypt is to build a water desalting, power producing plant at Sidi Kreir, near Alexandria, of 600 megawatt capacity and at a cost of $180 million, with a second plant to be built in 1982.

Things are moving, and perhaps in wrong directions. Over and above the justified doubts one holds over today's nuclear power plants, the projects listed show no true transnationalism, and they fall far short of what is needed to conquer the deserts *in toto.* Nevertheless, they demonstrate that conquest of the deserts is once more underway. Mankind is recovering the losses suffered from the events of 1492.

[A BALANCE SHEET]

What would it cost to irrigate the Sahara? The question cannot be answered simply because, for example, as irrigation proceeds, the volume of resulting crops would directly offset some capital costs and all operating costs of desalting and irrigation. Afforestation may occur, accelerating the conquest of the desert by setting barriers to its spread. Furthermore, we are forced to assume that, at some point in irrigation, the supply of desalted water would be accompanied by a supply of deep well water from geologic deposits, at an inclusive capital cost of about one-third of the initial cost for desalting. These figures may be in error. They give us, however, a starting point from which to reason.

Today one can buy installations capable of desalting some 6.5 million cubic feet of sea water per day for about $100 million. Assume the net output of desalted water to approximate 6 million cubic feet per day; this is approximately equal to 500 million square feet of irrigation water per week to a depth of one inch (i.e., 20 cents of capital cost per square foot of desert). Adding 50 percent for pipelines, pumping, storage basins, etc., the capital cost then rises to 30 cents per square foot, to a weekly irrigation depth of one inch, or in round figures, $8.4 million per square mile (or $13,125 per acre). This is the pessimistic capital price.

On the optimistic side, assume the tapping of geologic water deposits (as in the Sahel) doubles the fresh water capability at an inclusive capital cost for the increase of $30 million. We then have one billion square feet of one inch depth irrigation water for a capital cost of $180 million, or 18 cents per square foot, equal to $4.5 million per irrigation square mile (or $7,840 per acre).

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One can, of course, play with the numbers as one pleases. The question that remains is how this capital could be raised. One answer is that today's world commercial trade in armaments (excluding grants and foreign bases) approximates $14 billion per year, sufficient to advance irrigation of the Sahara by 1,667 square miles per year, on the pessimistic assumption, or about 2,800 square miles per year with the optimistic one. In the year 2000, we could have irrigated more than 43,000 square miles of the Sahara at the worst estimate, or 73,000 square miles at the best. And if instead of just considering the $14 billion in commercial arms trade, we calculate what could be accomplished with the well-over $200 billion annually devoted to world military spending, we find that over 900,000 square miles (averaging the optimistic and pessimistic figures) could be made fertile in the next quarter century. This would, of course, presuppose a fundamental shift in national attitudes away from rivalries and antagonisms, and towards what eventually might become a unified humanity.

[MAKING A CHOICE]

It seems to me that one can assert with certainty that the woeful outlook presented for mankind by demographers is an expression not of nature's reality but of the division of the world into artificial national components, with the resulting waste of resources which could be employed in watering the desert. The food supply/population ratio is not a natural function, but a function of mankind's failure to employ constructively the reasoning power with which nature has endowed us.

The fundamental issue is one of choice. Mankind can insure that the horrific scenario for the year 2000 not only will not, but cannot, materialize. One third of the human race need not die some 35-40 years from now, whatever the vagaries of weather patterns or changes in climate. Today we are, in effect, in the closing years of pre-social mankind. Whether we transcend this stage and emerge into a world community depends almost solely upon whether the world accepts or rejects the requirements for action implicit in the projections of demographers.

There remains the third question, that of altering the eating habits of mankind. This can be accomplished, but here, too, are institutional as well as cultural obstacles. To illustrate, one day in recent weeks I accepted delivery of soybeans by the bushel for planting; on that same day my wife purchased a 6.6 ounce package of meat extender composed of soyflour with caramel coloring. The extender was sold at a price equivalent to $1.43 per pound. This compares to a price of just over 20¢ per pound for the bulk soybean purchase, a disparity of seven to one in the selling price of the same commodity. The camouflaged soyflour was indeed 4¢ per pound dearer than the ground beef it was supposed to extend.

That price gouging and scoundrelism are at work is obvious. What is less obvious is that manufacturers (wholesalers and retailers) are pricing soyflour for direct human consumption in accordance with the conversion rate of cattle feed (seven pounds of cattle feed transform into one pound of beef).

The price of the soybean meat substitute is not being set according to its costs but artificially inflated to the price level of the consumers' meat alternative. Apart from the obvious fraud involved, this is a deliberate effort to maintain the most wasteful form of protein intake, to remove the price incentive that should naturally reflect the superior efficiency of direct plant protein consumption, and thereby to deprive people of the opportunity to rely increasingly on vegetable protein.

It is therefore not possible, given the present institutional mechanism by which foods leave the producer and end up on the table, to establish the market conditions under which people can voluntarily change their eating habits, minimizing meat in the diet, to effect social economy in the production and distribution of nourishment. The profit-making mode of gathering foods from the farmer and distributing it to the consumer is a wilful barrier to more rational use and development of food resources.

If Americans lowered that barrier, the United States could convert its output of assimilable protein for human consumption by about seven times the protein now derived from eating cattle. Add Canada, Japan, England, and Continental Europe to the process. The specter of starvation for hundreds upon hundreds of millions of people by the year 2000 then becomes so remote as to be absurd.

What is not absurd is that today's social institutions make this change-over impossible. The choice for mankind thus becomes very clear. We may risk the extinction which demographers predict for us. Or we may reshape our social institutions to facilitate, not prevent, the required changes in food consumption patterns and the irrigation of the world's deserts. It falls to us to choose between life and death as the future for mankind. We have the power. Do we have the will?

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Ramparts

TO OUR NEWSSTAND READERS:
We thought you might like to see this letter which we recently sent to Ramparts subscribers.

"For the moment, Berkeley is in order, if not at peace. Pickets have put away their placards, classes have been resumed, and so it will remain—if the regents behave sensibly. And in five or ten years, the demonstrators will talk nostalgically about the old days and think that the new undergraduates have no fire in their bellies."

—GILBERT HARRISON, writing in the *New Republic* in the aftermath of FSM, Berkeley's Free Speech Movement of 1964.

Dear Subscribers,

The ten-year mark is now almost upon us. Calling this old prophecy to mind conjures up a rather haunting question. Are the great, radicalizing movements of the Sixties truly ready for the nostalgia heap? There is certainly a pervasive notion that the radicalizing process which extended through that decade has had its day, that the promise of its growth has turned out empty, that it didn't have the staying power we had hoped.

It is the kind of question that has particular resonance for this magazine and the readers who have joined it. *Ramparts*, now in its twelfth year, is very much a product of that same political epoch. And one cannot deny the retrospective pride which participation in that history evokes. Great things were done, greater than we who did them knew. It is not hard to recognize that predicted feeling: Surely we had fire in our bellies then.

But in many ways a great explosion of political vitality does seem to be spent. A feeling of political exhaustion has been widespread and, along with it, the impulse to drop out of conflict with the evils of the system. There is the sense that the social tide has turned against us, the forces of opposition played out, the country has turned right, the people have been taken in, or have just returned to dead center, impatient of division and discord, and of dissenters forever tearing down America. Somehow or other, Richard Nixon's re-election established itself as a decisive omen of America's returning to a stodgy and secure repose, a turning back to normalcy, a signal that the unsettling shocks and challenges of the Sixties had at last been put behind us. There was the feeling that the system had been tested and had come through with renewed stability and public confidence.

[BACK TO NORMAL?]

Of course, the predictions of Nixon's "four more years" as an era of normalcy could not have been further from the mark. The vicuna coat and deep-freeze scandals of the Eisenhower years were hardly enough for us to be inured to Watergate. There were no impeachments in those years, not one attorney-general indicted. There was nothing to compare with our energy crisis, nor runaway inflation. The dream of normalcy involves a confidence in steady progress, not easily sustained when the almighty dollar is reduced to funny money, so that the real spendable earnings of the average worker today are lower than they were in 1965.

The political state of mind really prevailing in the United States was effectively obscured by Nixon's imposition of his own definition of the electoral mandate: military strength; self-reliance; a diminished government responsibility for social problems; toughing it out in southeast Asia. But the stresses of the second term have revealed with startling rapidity that Nixon's so-called New Majority was a concoction of the illusory and the ephemeral. The real shift in public attitudes began not with Watergate but with the emerging crisis brought on by the Vietnam War. On a comprehensive range of issues, there has been a sharply leftward shift cutting broadly across various social groups with the erosion of status quo support already dramatic at the time of Nixon's re-election. In that election year *Business Week* editorialized a remarkably apocalyptic warning:

> *The swift decline in the esteem in which the general public holds business is a sign of serious trouble ahead for corporate management. This disaffection shows up not only in a reluctance to buy some goods and services, but in a growing anti-business hostility. . . . If the trend continues, it could lead to painful changes in the free enterprise system.*

The occasion for this warning was the publication of a series of studies by the Opinion Research Corporation. "ORC's surveys," reported the magazine, "document the suspicion that there is a major political issue in complaints against the 'system'—and possibly against business itself. The important thing is the trend line, and some of these trends . . . started as far back as twenty years ago, with the major turn coming around 1965." So, for example, in 1965 persons expressing low approval of big business already outnumbered those expressing high approval by something more than two to one (45% to 19%). But by 1972 the margin of disfavor had grown to fully six to one (60% to 10%). And, *BW* found "even more worrisome, perhaps, the ranks of the traditionally strong supporters of business—Republicans, professionals, managers, college graduates, the affluent, the initiators (thought leaders and people most active in public affairs)." Even among these groups the base of business approval since 1965 had been cut in half.

A 1972 survey of the national mood by Potomac Associates, unrelated to the election, showed a clear reordering of popular priorities. Out of a list of 21 government-spending priorities, only two might even seem to fit in with the myth of New Majority reaction: combatting crime and coping with the drug problem. The rest of the top priorities, with a score of 80 or above do not: Helping the elderly, reducing water pollution, reducing air pollution, improving education of low-income children, improving medical and health care. And the Nixonian vision looks even worse off in the bottom five scorers which at best were fifty points below those mentioned: Spending for defense forces, main-

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taining US forces in Europe, spending for space, providing economic aid to foreign countries, and providing military aid to foreign countries.

What saved Nixon from his low ebb of first-term popularity was almost entirely his concessions on the cold war. When asked to name his top achievement, voters chose the trip to China (59%) and to Russia (54%). By comparison his position on welfare was only listed by 19%; law and order 17%; school bussing 17%; dealing with dissenters 5%. How then is this a period of conservative reaction?

[THEIR INSTITUTIONS AND OURS]

At a time in America when loyalty and commitment to institutions of any kind is rare, you have sustained this magazine, voting with your feet by standing by us when you could have walked away. In past letters such as this, we have written the obituaries of magazines like *Life, Look, Colliers* and the *Saturday Review;* now *Intellectual Digest* has joined them. Although our twelve years have never been especially financially secure, the list of magazines we have now outlived begins to make us look positively stable by comparison.

In the magazine business *Ramparts* readers are considered something of a phenomenon. Writing letters of this kind, and especially requesting early renewals as we do, is considered most unbusinesslike on our part, and even slightly mad. What the hard-headed, realistic business-types don't grasp is that *Ramparts* is not a business, and that is why it isn't mad for us to write like this. It is an act of faith, a faith that you have generously justified by your responses in the past. For you to renew early for future years is another act of faith, faith in what *Ramparts* is trying to do. It expresses another kind of faith as well, about yourself, that the political concern, moral sensibility, openness to change, even, one may say, the courage of your curiosity, will endure from year to year.

There is extremely serious and highly effective activism going on right now within this country, with implicit challenges that go to the heart of the status of privilege and wealth. The private prerogatives of business are being made public issues, and the divergence between the priorities of usefulness and profit is being driven home. There are initiative campaigns, consumer price boycotts, organized challenges to public agencies and the irresponsibility of private corporations. This is not a replay of the Sixties nor should it be.

In a way we have attained a higher political plateau, and we are starting at the bottom once again to scale another range of heights. But to start anew is not to start from scratch. Drawing thoughtfully on our experience, we can recognize the similarities in the movements now at hand, and appreciate the differences as well, learn from the past without living in it.

So ten years after the days of FSM we do not look back at the fire in our bellies with a bemused indulgence. We look back with pride. In the years ahead we hope to look back once again with pride in the perseverance of a maturing vision—in time perhaps a vision that redeems from the American experience its finest aspirations in the creation of a new reality. If we did not believe that *Ramparts* is a vital institution—now more than ever if we may put it so—the embarrassment of asking for your money would be too much. But we are convinced that *Ramparts is* vital, and its needs merit whatever help you can afford. If that means subscribing for more than one year—for three or four or twelve, or a sustaining lifetime sub—then we hope you will do that. It is not extravagant, but a rare thing in these times—money that is well spent.

For the staff,

David Kolodney

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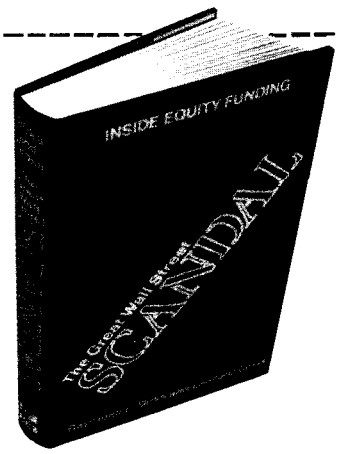

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